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ABSTRACT

Two basic purposes can be discerned in the material: (1) to provide public school administrators with source material to use in their consideration of the growing problem of student unrest in Pennsylvania's public schools; and (2) to heighten awareness of the seriousness of the problem. Prevention is a major focus of this publication, as evidenced in the sections on identification of potential unrest and actions to avoid student unrest. A briefly elaborated but comprehensive set of procedures for resolving overt student unrest are presented. Also dealt with are the role of the Board of Education and the most recent court statements involving the legal questions raised by the issue of student unrest. The publication concludes that the school environment is the focus for change, that student compliance must largely be a voluntary act, and that boards of education, administrators, teachers, students, parents and the entire community must learn and must change in order to effectively resolve the problems which precipitate student unrest and which result from it. (TL)

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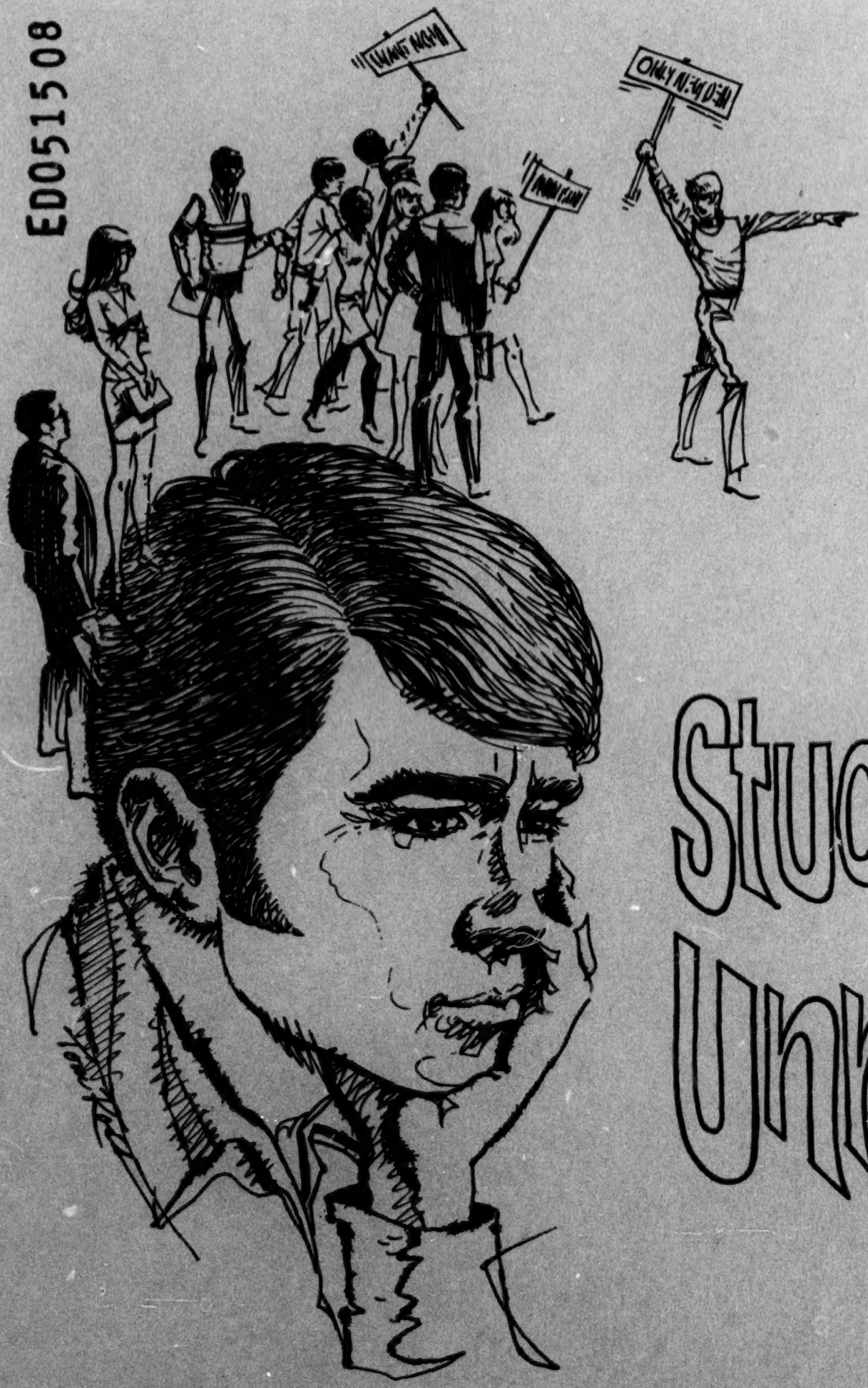

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Preface

On March 27, 1969, eighteen people from various sections of Pennsylvania sat down together in Harrisburg to discuss student unrest, student activism, at the secondary level. From that day of discussion, from conversations with other individuals, from observation and from printed material the first edition of this publication was developed.

Two basic purposes lay behind the preparation of that material--

to provide public school administrators with source material to use as they considered the growing problem of student unrest in the public schools of the Commonwealth

and

to heighten awareness of the seriousness of the problem.

The material began with a general discussion and a definition of the problem followed by three sets of guidelines. The first set of guidelines was designed to help an administrative staff assess its own situation as it attempted to determine the extent to which student unrest was a potential problem in its own school system. The second set of guidelines was intended to help an administrator chart a course of action which would help him, once he had recognized a potential problem, to alleviate situations and eliminate causes before serious situations and overt problems arose. The first set of guidelines was directed toward recognition; the second, toward prevention. The third set of guidelines

purported to assist an administrator to plot a course of action that could be put in motion immediately should a serious situation arise suddenly in a school in spite of all possible efforts to avoid it.

That first edition, which was distributed in August of 1969, achieved significant success. Copies went to every state of the United States. Several school districts and organizations, with permission of the Pennsylvania Department of Education, reproduced copies with their own facilities since copies were available from the Department of Education in limited numbers only.

After the publication had gone through three printings, and with a demand for copies continuing, it was felt that the material should be revised. The present publication is the result.

The two basic purposes of the first edition, as delineated earlier, hold for this second edition. However, it is felt that those two purposes have been given support through two major changes which have been effected for this second edition.

> In the first place, new material has been added to the three main sections of the first edition and the other material was re-written, at least to a degree.
>
> But perhaps more important is the fact that two additional sections have been included in this revision, one which is titled "The Board of Education and Student Unrest" and another which is titled "The Law, the Courts, and Student Unrest."

This publication recognizes that different manifestations of unrest may occur involving different kinds of students, extremely varied situations and diverse forms of action. *Unrest is not limited to a*

black-white problem although racial conflict has been at the heart of the most disturbing and most disruptive conflicts. Neither is it confined to the poor nor to those of lower-level abilities since many dissenters are highly intelligent individuals who come from middle- or upper-class homes. **Moreover, the unrest is not confined to a few students; over half of today's high school youth have expressed dissatisfaction with the limited participation they have been accorded in the operation of the schools. During the 1969-70 school year, 18 per cent of the high schools of the nation experienced some form of student protest.**

Each situation involving activism is different. **It should be understandable, then, that no attempt has been made to prescribe for every situation. Such an undertaking could scarcely be accomplished. It becomes the task of the administrator to translate generalities into specifics needed for his own circumstances.**

Not everyone who reads this will agree with, or perhaps even like, some of the things which are said. Nevertheless, what is written represents what people have experienced, have planned, and, in numerous instances, have put into action. Many will recognize that *some of the suggestions will place additional financial burdens on a community.* **But so too does the repair of buildings wrecked by vandalism and rioting cost money.** *It becomes a question of how a community would rather see its money spent--for prevention or for repairs resulting from destruction.*

The publication is intended to be used as a guide. There is no intent of prescribing any course of action. A specific course of action can be outlined only by a given school within the context of its own peculiar situation. Consequently, it will quickly be noted, for example, that some of the items listed in the third set of guidelines could, depending upon the situation, be considered as part of the second

set of guidelines.

In an appendix are listed the names of the persons who participated in the March 27 meeting referred to earlier. Without them, this publication, if possible at all, would be of much less significance. To them sincere appreciation is expressed. However, it must be understood that the material does not necessarily represent, either in part or in its entirety, the thinking of the committee as a whole or of any individual member. Committee members, with four or five exceptions, had an opportunity to react only to a preliminary, very incomplete, draft of the material which was developed. Appreciation is extended, in addition, to the several persons who made suggestions for this revision and to the several who read the first draft of the revision.

Gratitude is expressed also to all others who assisted and to the Pennsylvania State Education Association for the building facilities made available for meeting purposes. Particular appreciation is expressed to Captain Michael Donahoe, director of the Pennsylvania State Police Community Relations Division, for his time, his ideas and his willingness to participate in this project.

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Introduction

"We can deplore student unrest or we can welcome it, but we cannot ignore it or simply wait for it to go away."

-- S. L. Halleck
"Twelve Hypotheses of Student Unrest"

INTRODUCTION

> "America's high schools--from the ghettoes to the suburbs--today are like boiling cauldrons.
>
> "No one can predict when the pot will boil over, but already violence, vandalism and noisy protest are common."[1]

Student unrest has become a potent force within our schools. However, we are still uncertain as to how deep the challenge is or in what direction it will ultimately lead the schools--and perhaps society as a whole. But we do know that we have *a new generation of youth, youth who are leading today and who will continue to lead tomorrow.* We need to know these young people--who they are, what they think, how they think, how they feel, whom and what they represent.

We have more than vague signs that direct us to an increasing incidence of unrest at the secondary level. In February of 1970 alone there were in the nation 43 incidents at high schools which resulted in police being called 19 times to make 257 arrests. We should not lose sight of the fact that many incidents go unreported. We can see organizations taking shape; we can read what students are saying; we can see secondary schools which have been torn by riots.

> "The first generation of high school activists are here and some of them are turning to radical organizations, and creating some of their own, to protest a school establishment they call irrelevant. Neither juvenile delinquents nor academic laggards, the students are organizing at breathtaking rates."[2]

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[1] William J. Waugh, "High Schools Across Nation Boiling Like Cauldrons." The Centre Daily Times, April 29, 1970, page 34.

[2] "What Student Activists Are Doing." Nation's Schools, March 1969, page 61.

Issues being raised and demands being made by students are numerous. Any listing would have to include the following, among others: revision of grading systems, autonomy for the school newspaper, provision for smoking areas for students, provision for unsupervised student lounges, curriculum revision, the elimination of dress codes, improvement in the condition of the school plant, changes in building programs, the establishment of student councils with a significant role in determining school policy, changes in the homework policy, membership on virtually all committees, the addition of black studies to the curriculum, more equitable cheerleader elections, the elimination of all forms of physical punishment, the creation of student-faculty review boards, less censorship of opinion in classes and assemblies, changes in cafeteria regulations, better teachers and teaching and freedom to choose teachers.

Individual students and representatives of student organizations have made statements which paint a rather clear picture of goals and of tactics to be used in reaching those goals. They have also stated opinions very succinctly, opinions which include positions.

> Michael Klonsky, executive secretary of the Students for a Democratic Society, in his report to the SDS national committee meeting at the University of Texas in March of 1969 declared, "Our primary task is to build a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement."[1]

> The position of the New York Student Union has been couched in these words: "Schools are major instruments for the perpetuation of the racism and inequalities of our society. They inculcate the beliefs and behavior that support and preserve the status quo. This serves two functions--it simultaneously teaches us to conform and obey, to take orders without question, and through its mealy-mouthed history instills bigotry and fear

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[1] The Evening News (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania), April 1, 1969, page 18.

in white pupils, and in black pupils a belief in their inferiority."[1]

The position for the United Student Movement in the high school at Palo Alto, California, has been expressed in this manner: "Members of the movement believe some sort of revolution must come to bring the necessary reforms to the systems that control our lives."[2] This group states further: "We will no longer sit back while another generation attempts to control our lives. If this generation which is now in the position of authority cannot see where it is going wrong, then it is our duty to make these people aware of their mistakes. We will have the strength to resist their control if no sign of change develops."[3]

"One SDS pamphlet for the high school set reads in part: 'Even such seemingly destructive actions as starting trash-can fires and pulling fire alarms are actually forms of protest directed at the school as it is now constituted.'"[4]

"If you don't dig the system, work for the revolution." This is what the New York High School Student Union of 108 semi-autonomous locals in public and private schools says to students.[5]

More recent statements on goals give at least a degree of credence to the earlier statements about revolution.

"The best-known violent groups have well-defined aims. Their targets are carefully chosen.

"They want society to strike back. They want the police to get frightened and rough. They want the courts to be harsh. They want to provoke repression. They aim at causing the Fascist state.

---

1 "High School Activists Tell What They Want." Nation's Schools, December 1968, page 30.

2 Ibid., page 30.

3 Ibid., page 31.

4 Ray Cromley, "SDS's Newest Target: High Schools." Pittsburgh Press, May 5, 1969, page 22.

5 "What Student Activists Are Doing." Nation's Schools, March 1969, page 62.

Enough repression, they believe, will bring a revolution. They will lead it.

"These violent men and women reason that persistent attacks on certain targets will most quickly bring this repression:

"Police stations, policemen and their families.

"Draft boards and draft board members.

"College ROTC buildings.

"Offices of major business firms."[1]

This same writer believes that *society may see a turn from destroying property to destroying people.* As facts, he lists the following:

"Pamphlets now distributed tell in minute detail how to maim policemen.

"Home addresses of police are being publicized to subject their families to harrassment.

"Some explosives found and disarmed were set to go off in schools and stores at hours when the killings and injuring of men, women and children would have been terrible indeed."[1]

Already, reference has been made a number of times to the words, "student unrest" and "student activism." These words can, of course, have many connotations and can mean different things to different people. For some, unrest may be synonymous with ambition. For others, the position might be taken, for example, that "student activism" is the preferable wording because a student can become active and involved without being dissatisfied. Because of this, and in view of the fact that the two phrases have been and will continue to be used interchangeably in this material, a definition of "unrest" or "activism" as used in this publication is offered.

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[1] Ray Cromley, "Violent Young Left Seen Stepping Up Terrorism." Lancaster New Era, March 25, 1970.

> Student unrest is defined as "a discontented attitude on the part of students toward school and its objectives, expressed in a manner that threatens the codes of conduct, written or implied, and disrupts the orderly process of education."[1]

Unrest and activism mean dissent and protest. WHAT DOES AN ADMINISTRATOR DO WHEN HE IS FIRST CONFRONTED WITH PROTEST IN HIS OWN SCHOOL? Perhaps the first reaction is a negative one which moves quickly to thoughts of repression in terms of everything from counseling with protestors to suspension or expulsion from school. If not the first reaction, then a quick second reaction should be one which moves in the direction of an analysis of the protest. This is essential in view of the fact that students do have the <u>right</u> to dissent. The United States Supreme Court has ruled, by a vote of 7 to 2, that students have the right to carry on protest demonstrations. The ruling was made by the court on a Des Moines, Iowa, case brought on behalf of three students who were suspended for wearing black arm bands to protest the Vietnam war.

However, it should quickly be noted that there is another side to this matter of rights. "The Supreme Court has indicated that the constitutional right of free speech does not extend to students who conduct violent demonstrations. The court refused to consider the claim of ten students who say they were suspended from Bluefield State College, West Virginia, without due process of law. The students' suspension followed an unruly demonstration at a football game in October, 1967." The opinion stated that the students were "' suspended from college not for expressing their opinions on a matter of substance, but for violent and destructive interference with the rights of others.'"[2]

---

[1] <u>Student Unrest</u>. California Association of Secondary School Administrators, 1967, page 51.

[2] _____. <u>Phi Delta Kappan</u>, May 1969, page 540.

But the entire issue goes much deeper than a statement on rights. *It is important that students do protest, that they exercise the right to dissent.* It was Alvia Barfield, a teacher in the Los Angeles Public Schools, who reminded those at the AASA Convention in Atlantic City in February of 1969 that

> "It was the minority that founded this very country as a response to the grave inequities they saw in their land. It was the minority that fought for the rights of every legal age citizen to vote, but most of all, it was the minority--a minority of one--who came two thousand years ago and changed the course of all human history. A minority must not be ignored nor played down. This time if we do not heed the warning we may see the demise of what you and I call the American Heritage, the American Dream."

In terms of age level, where does the seat of unrest appear to lie? All of us are aware of the extensiveness of the unrest at the college level. Many of us are aware of the extent to which this unrest has developed in senior high schools. But, on the other hand, how many of us are familiar with the fact that a survey of the National Association of Secondary School Principals has revealed that protest activities are now as common in junior high school as in senior high school?

The appearance of unrest among the younger secondary age group and the elementary age group is highly significant for a number of reasons, not the least of which lies in a statement made by Ray Cromley to the effect that in his experience in Asia, the very young, when aroused, are much more violent than their elder brothers. This writer goes on to say:

> "Mao Tse-tung made heavy use of his high school and pre-high school youth in the Red Guards. The high school group is very violent in Japan.
>
> "In South Vietnam's turbulent period of anti-government riots a few years back, the great bulk of

the demostrators frequently were youngsters from 8 to 17. Many were sub-teens.

"The oldest member of one very effective rioting group was 11, its spokesman 10.

"The North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong have made widespread use of youngsters, aged 8 to 16. The adventure--and possession of weapons--has appealed to them.

"Castro in Cuba found very young boys extremely valuable--reckless in their enthusiasm, once indoctrinated very difficult to sway, and ready to die for what his men had taught them."[1]

This same reporter wrote at a later date:

"The Japanese and Vietnamese experience is that high school-trained militants are more prone to emotional violence.

"Students are easier to reach emotionally at these teen ages.

"A high school student has quite a few years to operate and perfect his techniques before reaching maturity. Inefficient leadership is weeded out. A high school base thus gives more continuity to a militant movement."[2]

It is true that the foregoing quotations deal with youth of countries other than the United States. But this should make little difference; youth are youth no matter what their geographic location. Nevertheless, there is an element of danger in that public school personnel could be lulled into complacency with the belief that student unrest is a secondary problem. As a matter of fact, a few elementary schools have already experienced incidents; others are certain to be added to the list.

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[1] Ray Cromley, "SDS's Newest Target: High Schools." Pittsburgh Press, May 5, 1969, page 22.

[2] Ray Cromley, "Militants Hit High Schools." Pittsburgh Press, April 13, 1970, page 22.

> "Tom Hayden, a New Left activist and one of the founders of SDS, thinks that while today's high school students may have been influenced and encouraged by their college comrades, they are far more radical. 'If you think you saw militant people at these hearings,' Hayden warned the House Committee on Un-American Activities in December, 'you've seen nothing until you see the seven- and eight-year-olds in the next few years.'"[1]

Elementary school personnel would be wise to take note; they have been warned. As is true with secondary schools, now is the time for elementary principals and faculties to begin to plan.

Many students are convinced that there is a problem in the secondary schools today, a problem which is going to be resolved only through such means as dissent, protest, demonstration, boycott, riot or even revolution. Many of these students place the blame for the problem squarely on the shoulders of adults. One college student stated that "You old people got this world into this condition. Now you have a handful of guilt, and you don't know where to put it."[2]

Do the "old people" (the over 30's) have a sense of guilt? Should they have? Although there are more than surface implications here, at this point the question is an academic one since it does not exactly represent the core of the problem currently under consideration. Concern should be more with attitudes and courses of action which lead to an amelioration or an elimination of the problem.

Attitudes toward unrest may range from the positive to the negative with characteristic adjectives for each shown in the analogue immediately following.

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[1] Nicholas Pileggi, "Revolutionaries Who Have to Be Home by 7:30." Phi Delta Kappan, June 1969, page 565.

[2] Goodman Ace, "Top of My Head." Saturday Review, April 12, 1969, page 4.

UNREST[1]

Positive		Negative
U Understanding		U Unawareness
N Negotiation		N Negative Attitudes
R Response		R Run-around
E Effort		E Evasiveness
S Sincerity		S Subterfuge
T Teamwork		T Thoughtlessness

Within all that has been written to this point, there lies a charge to, a challenge for, those who carry the responsibility for the operation of the public schools of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. That charge, that challenge, is to prepare for what lies ahead.

From attitudes toward unrest in general it is a natural progression for an administrator to think of his own personal attitudes toward unrest and then to think of unrest relative to his own school. It is particularly with regard to the last phase--unrest in one's own school--that the following pages are directed.

It is hoped that the remainder of this publication will enable the administrative staff of any school to do three things:

1. Analyze its own situation to determine what potential exists for student unrest.
2. Correct situations which would appear to denote approaching trouble.
3. Develop a plan of action for use in the event of a crisis situation.

How well a school plans for the future determines what kind of future that school has. Planning for student unrest is no exception.

---

[1] Dean Jack Moses, Cheyney State College.

I.

Signs Indicating Potential Student Unrest in the Schools

Recognition

". . . the forces in a developing social struggle are frequently buried beneath the visible surface and make themselves felt in many ways long before they burst out into the open. These generative forces make themselves felt through the power of an idea long before their organizational forms can openly challenge the establishment."

-- Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X.

Introductory Statement Guidelines

I. SIGNS INDICATING POTENTIAL STUDENT UNREST IN THE SCHOOLS

RECOGNITION

As one lives in a given situation over a period of time, that situation can change virtually without the individual's awareness of any change. Attitudes may develop, thinking may alter, even overt actions may change almost imperceptibly from one day to the next. The net result may be that suddenly an individual is forced to face stark reality, to recognize that things were not as he thought they were.

Such may be the situation for an administrator relative to student unrest in his school. He may feel that a student sit-in or a student rebellion in the form of violent action could not possibly occur in his school--only to find that suddenly there are 300 unmoving and apparently immovable students sitting in the cafeteria or that a fight is in progress at the end of one of the school building corridors.

In short, it is important that those "generative forces" of which Malcolm X spoke in his Autobiography of Malcolm X be identified. Just as one expects to find the major portion of an iceberg out of sight beneath the surface of the water, so can one expect to locate, beneath the surface of every-day activities and events, those forces which, although not immediately visible in all instances, when really looked for, are indicative of student unrest.

The following guidelines are intended to help an administrator think through his own school situation to determine the extent of potential student unrest. Note that the word "extent" is used; *the potential exists to some degree in virtually every school.* An administrative admission

that some of the following signs are evident in the community and/or in the school should lead the administrator to undertake an immediate and thorough study of his school.

RECOGNITION

A. Community Situations

1. Community situation and reactions in general.

a. Segregated schools.

b. Segregated housing, churches, clubs.

c. Lack of community support for the school and its program.

d. An untoward or unusual reaction to the location of new housing developments.

e. Employment figures in terms of Negroes employed in significant businesses or industries out of line with employment figures for whites.

f. A feeling of alienation on the part of any segment of the community population.

g. Apparent strengthening of community (adult) organizations that represent ethnic or national groups.

h. Formation of "Extremist" groups--Left or Right-- in the community.

i. Developing or increasing minority group demands.

j. Strangers in the community.

k. Appearance of hate literature in the school.

2. Racial incidents within the community.

a. Refusal of a white barber to cut the hair of a Negro.

b. Denial of admission to a swimming pool to a member of a minority group.

c. Denial of opportunity to a minority group member to rent or buy housing in any given section of the community.

3. An increase in the crime rate in the community.

4. Increasing gang activities in the community.

B. Complaints

1. Increasing complaints about teachers and administrators.

2. Curriculum complaints.

3. Student dissatisfaction with teaching methods.

4. Complaints that minority groups are shunted into special education classes and general courses.

5. Teacher complaints about increasing disciplinary problems with demands for stricter disciplinary measures.

6. Complaints that minority groups are not recommended for college, are not elected to honor societies, are not selected as cheerleaders, etcetera.

7. Complaints about inconsistent, subjective and biased disciplinary procedures.

    a. Some parents will have recollections--imagined or real--of mistreatment they received as students from some of the very same teachers who are still on the staff of the school.

8. Student objections to dress codes and to policies on such matters as smoking.

9. Complaints about ineffective guidance procedures.

10. Negative reactions to over-emphasis on achievement and on grades.

C. Lawlessness

1. An increase in police/student contacts.

2. Increased vandalism to school or community property.

3. An increase in the use of alcohol or drugs.

4. Students carrying weapons.

5. Rumors of conflict.

6. Threats made to teachers.

D. Student actions

1. Use of delegations to present a point of view.

    a. Doesn't the mere fact that a delegation comes to the principal's office say something? Does it say that

the students come as a group because they know if they come as individuals they will not be heard, or perhaps even seen? This leads to *a question every principal should ask himself: "Am I approachable?"*

2. Absenteeism patterns of a questionable nature.

    a. A careful study of the daily absentee list which shows certain patterns:

        (1) A gradual--or rapid--increase of absenteeism in general.

        (2) A change in the absentee rate of a given racial or ethnic group.

        (3) At regular intervals, a high incidence of absenteeism of a given racial or ethnic group.

3. Seemingly minor conflicts between ethnic or racial groups.

4. Appearance of an underground newspaper.

5. A growing and consistent infraction of school rules and policies.

6. Reports of emotional statements made in class.

7. The appearance of far-out clothing, far-out hair styles.

8. Unauthorized or questionable congregating in the school corridors.

9. Increased participation of high school students in activist college student organizations.

E. Miscellaneous

1. Lack of communication between students and the administration.

2. Polarization of students.

3. Administrators and teachers with attitudes either negative or indifferent.

4. Evolvement of different minority or ethnic groups in school affairs.

    a. The organization of, for example, an Afro-American group within the school.

5. Appearance of outsiders, non-students, in the school.

6. Appearance of hate literature in the school.

7. An atmosphere which is quiet to the point of being unnatural.

8. Requests by parents that disruptive pupils of all grade levels be removed from the school.

9. Attempts on the part of community groups to circumvent administrators and make initial contacts concerning a problem directly with the school board.

10. Abrogation of responsibilities on the part of even a few staff members.

11. Concern of students for what they view as adult hypocrisy:

    a. Emphasis on morality in the midst of immorality.

    b. Advocation of peace while countenancing, even aiding, war.

    c. Teaching respect for law and order while the society is torn asunder by riots.

* * * * *

"What counts is the determination
to liberate initiative and show
confidence in man at every level."

-- Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber

* * * * *

II.

Actions to Avoid Student Unrest

Prevention

"I've run the gamut of every kind of school from the toughest to the so-called best. But whatever the class, whatever the student--whether he was a window smasher or an apple polisher--each one, it seems to me, in his own private wilderness, was crying, 'Listen to me, look at me, pay attention to me, care about me.'"

-- Bel Kaufman

Introductory Statement Guidelines

II. ACTIONS TO AVOID STUDENT UNREST

PREVENTION

For the well-meaning and sincere administrator, perhaps one of the most difficult things to do is to admit to himself, to his board of education, to his faculty, to his student body, to his community, that there is dissatisfaction within the schools of the community, that a potentially serious situation exists. However, little can or will be done until the administrator, particularly the chief administrator, has the *courage* to make the admission. After this hurdle has been negotiated, he is ready to plot a course of action.

Even before the development of a course of action, a knowledgeable administrator can build up good will. Earning and banking trust during a period when there is little or no pressure or unpleasantness will provide a valuable asset for a time when it may be needed.

The guidelines which follow are just that--guidelines. They do not represent a recommended course of action. They do represent action which has been taken in various schools. Some may be applicable in toto to a given school situation; others may have no value for that particular school. Some may require adaptation. Others may suggest different approaches to the open-minded administrator.

Serious study and thought can lead to the development of a plan which will eliminate the basic causes of dissatisfaction and consequently help to produce a school and community climate of such a nature that there will be satisfaction rather than dissatisfaction, harmony rather than discord, peace rather than war.

PREVENTION

A. Communication

1. Provide for effective communication.

a. Lines of communication should be such as to encourage continuous dialogue among students, administration, classroom teachers and between the school and various sources of information.

b. Relative to communication, two brief quotations from a recent New York study of student activism have great significance:

(1) "What did we hear the students saying? I think we heard them say this: 'I am a human being. See me. Hear me. Please help me find out who I am. Help me to discover what life is all about. Soon.'"[1]

(2) ". . . an interesting insight was gained during some small group buzz sessions when one principal cited his excellent communication with his students while his students were reporting elsewhere how 'out of touch' their principal was![2]

2. Provide for both individual-school and district-wide communication.

a. Charge a committee, composed of administrators, students and faculty, with the responsibility of designing guidelines for student-staff interaction.

b. Set up in every building of the school district a committee or council to act as an advisory body and to analyze problems and make suggestions for their resolution.

c. Establish a district-wide student advisory board which would meet regularly with the superintendent and provide a direct line of communication between him and the students.

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[1] "Student Activism in the High Schools of New York State." The University of the State of New York, The State Education Department, March 1969, page 7.

[2] Ibid., page 5.

d. Devise a means for assembling and analyzing information from all buildings in the district in order that the administration may be fully informed concerning any changing pattern of student behavior.

3. Avoid inflexible insistence on use of channels, pre-determined lines of communication.

   a. To many students, working "up" to someone represents the establishment. To many students, this establishment is oppressive and suppressive; it is a system that is not relevant.

   b. There must be, as needed, circumventing of the hierarchy. Whoever is at the top cannot possibly handle everything, but he has to hear, to listen, to understand. Until he does, nothing much is going to happen. After the one in authority knows, he can bring in his staff.

   c. Some of the pre-set communications will not work. At times students will go directly to whoever can act. Consequently, at times even very simple problems will be taken directly to the superintendent or to the board of education. What is wrong with a student feeling free to walk directly into the principal's office or the superintendent's office?

   d. How does one handle a situation in which people, who do not belong there, are coming into the building and getting students to go outside? Someone who has authority to act must be reached and must listen. *An individual will not always have the luxury of time;* he will on occasion find that action must be taken immediately, that he cannot wait to go through channels.

4. Provide sufficient personnel to listen.

   a. Boards of education--and administrators for not recommending such--have been remiss in not providing sufficient people to listen to students and still have sufficient people to operate the school system. There must be sufficient, carefully chosen personnel who will be able to communicate with top administration. *Failure to listen could bring a school system to a halt.*

   b. In a small district, it may be that only one person would be required. In a large district, it may be that a dozen people would be required. The individual(s) should be in a position to have an over-all view of the school. It may be that the principal should be freed to work with the students.

c. Providing sufficient personnel has strong overtones for providing an adequate secretarial staff. John Doar, president of the New York City Board of Education, stated: "'The basic problem is that we haven't learned very much about how to deal with these kids, especially the minority high school kids. A lot of work must be done to reach them, but our administrators are so bogged down with paper work, report writing, and a serious secretarial shortage that many of our people don't have a chance to spend the time needed to keep up with the temper of the time, let alone get ahead of it.'

"An independent fact-finding committee may some day discover that an acute shortage of secretaries was the underlying cause of the student revolt that closed the New York public schools in 1969."[1]

d. *If we do not find a way to find time for the few, we may not have time for the many.* If the few are threatening to burn down the school or someone's home, we had better find the time.

5. Provide opportunities for people to talk together in informal situations.

a. Providing for breakfast may seem to some schoolmen to be going a little too far. But this is exactly what one school has done. At 7:45 a.m., breakfast can be obtained in the cafeteria, and students and teachers can meet and talk. From a beginning of 25 participants, the program has grown to almost 200 per morning. If a student cannot afford to pay, the food is free.

b. Encourage teachers to sit with students at lunch and to interact with them.

6. Make use of dialogue groups.

a. Arrange for a student-staff dialogue. For the dialogue, take an hour, a day, two days or whatever time is needed.

b. Arrange for a school-community dialogue. One school had people from the hard-core poverty areas, police, ministers and students discuss what could be done.

7. Make use of news media.

a. Use the regular school publications.

b. Publish regularly, perhaps once a week, a bulletin or information sheet which would delineate the point of

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[1] Nicholas Pileggi, "Revolutionaries Who Have to Be Home by 7:30." Phi Delta Kappan, June 1969, page 566.

view of various groups on controversial issues. Make distribution to faculty and students in order that the entire school may have at least some knowledge of differing views on major problems.

c. Use community news media.

8. Talk with students at the classroom level.

9. Be available.

a. When a student needs you, make a place on your schedule and see him. You will avoid a lot of trouble. The "you" refers to any member of the school staff.

10. Don't lie; don't pretend.

a. When you tell a student, "When you need me, come see me," mean it. If you don't mean it, don't say it.

11. Authorize student leaders to have some kind of meeting with all students to make their position clear.

a. In one school situation this was done through having the social studies classes meet in the auditorium. The social studies department chairman and the student leaders addressed the meetings with a question and answer session following.

12. Designate community coordinators or liaison personnel.

a. Designate community coordinators whose basic functions should be to represent the school at community meetings and at meetings of various agencies cooperating with the school and to obtain information held by social service, welfare and law enforcement agencies.

13. Encourage the principal and other administrators to extend their contacts with students.

a. One principal has reported scheduling regular meetings with representative students and with the student council to discuss varied types of problems.

b. Another principal has reported having lunch on a regular basis with very small groups of student leaders and their advisers.

c. Another administrator established one noon hour each week (it could be more or less frequently and could be an afternoon or any other designated time) during which <u>any student</u> may come to his office to request information on any subject.

14. Encourage all administrators to get out of the relative quiet and security of their offices and associate and mingle with the students.

15. Arrange for discussions of school policy.

    a. The administration might profitably schedule meetings with students at which school regulations and policies could be discussed.

    b. "The key to what is going on among high school students today is that a majority clearly want to participate more in deciding their future. They are willing to be taught, but not to be told. They are willing to abide by the rules, but they will not abide by rules which put them down. They are aware of the need for authority, but not impressed by it for its own sake. They are excited by the prospect of living in a fast-changing modern society and they want their high school education to help prepare them for it--not for some society of the past."[1]

16. Try to get across to students that not only have the "over 30's" an obligation to listen, but that the "under 30's" can listen--really listen--too.

B. Curriculum

1. Develop a curriculum which is relevant.

    a. Be careful of the use of the word "relevant." A statement that today's curriculum is not relevant has no value until tied in with another factor. A charge that a curriculum is not relevant must be countered with a question, Not relevant to <u>what</u>?

    b. Lawrence E. Metcalf and Maurice P. Hunt propose that "a curriculum, if it is to be relevant today, must assist young people in an examination of their own basic assumptions about society and its improvement. They call for study by young people of youth's rejection of adult culture, and they advocate the development by young people of relevant utopias and preferred worlds."[2]

    c. A relevant curriculum is one which faces vital issues, which comes to grips with the controversies of the

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[1] Louis Harris, "The <u>Life</u> Poll: What People Think About Their High Schools." <u>Life</u>, May 16, 1969, page 24.

[2] <u>Phi Delta Kappan</u>, March 1970, page 358.

day--war, violence, poverty, race, segregation, the draft, corporation influence. A relevant curriculum is one which meets the need for a serious consideration of such things as values and morality.

d. "What school programs need is to attack frontally the dichotomy between the pupil's real world and the school's make-believe world. Their real world is the present in time and space--as the students understand that world. Teachers, on the other hand, try constantly to interpret, and often glorify, the past and/or to prepare pupils for the teachers' own concepts of what the future holds. Most pupils need less information, fewer skills and less time in the subject fields required of all so that each may follow where his special talents and interests lead--assisted positively by the school's program."[1] (Statement by J. Lloyd Trump)

e. One student has expressed his feeling on the matter of the development of a relevant curriculum in these words: "Teachers should not try to do it all by themselves. Students are crying to participate in planning and we resent programs planned for us, not with us."

2. Involve the community.

   a. Develop a greater community involvement in the classroom. The types of individuals or agencies invited to participate would depend upon the kinds of problems that are most urgent within that particular community.

      (1) For example, a school located within a community beset with problems of unemployment, welfare and ill health, might invite representatives of employment, welfare and public health agencies into the classroom to explain programs and field questions.

3. Include in the curriculum provision for an adequate study of the various cultures.

   a. However, in providing for a study of black culture, the school should not lose sight of the fact that we have red Americans and yellow Americans who have a culture. Neither can we lose sight of the fact that we have numerous minority groups in the United States including, among others, Greeks, Poles, Jews, Italians, Irish--all of whom have a culture of which they are proud.

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[1] Nicholas Pileggi, "Revolutionaries Who Have to Be Home by 7:30." Phi Delta Kappan, June 1969, page 568.

b. See Appendix H which has been included only to emphasize the need for a careful analysis of the situation and careful planning when the introduction of courses on various cultures is contemplated.

4. Consider the curriculum in terms of honest scholarship.

   a. ". . . what is the task ahead for American education as it seeks to move from chauvenistic, racist-oriented assumptions and curriculum content to a program commensurate with the world in which all of America's children--white and black--must assume their obligations of citizenship?

      "This is more than a special course in Negro history and culture--though that may help. The task is the injection of honest scholarship into the eternal quest for understanding which engages youth in school pursuits. It is not indoctrination of the lore of this tribe or that among us--giving each a dose of identity--it is a higher synthesis which draws from the strengths of the heritage of all to bring us to a new set of common values and norms with which all can be comfortable and by which none will be compromised."[1]

5. Conduct a faculty-student evaluation of teaching techniques currently in use in the classroom.

   a. Such a study might well lead to a decided decrease in the use of the lecture and a decided increase in the use of discussion, seminars and related techniques.

   b. It might lead teachers to a serious re-evaluation of their thinking relative to their basic responsibility. Is it to teach subject material, or is it to teach young people?

   c. It might include the development of a program of individual and/or independent study for all students.

6. Introduce a course on law into the curriculum.

   a. "If a child is going to be held responsible for unlawful behavior, then society has the responsibility to insure that he has been taught the laws he is expected to obey, the value of obeying and the consequences of disobeying."[2]

   b. See Appendix G for a description of one such course.

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[1] High School Racial Confrontation, pages 64-65.

[2] H. B. McDaniel and Betty A. Truce, "Students Should Be Taught the Law." Today's Education, April 1969, pages 23-24.

7. Prepare students for careers in law enforcement.

    a. School administrators, regardless of the ethnic or economic composition of their respective areas, might explore the feasibility of developing courses that would prepare young men for careers in law enforcement.

        (1) The studies could include simplified versions of the behavioral sciences, vehicle code and typing.

    b. School personnel might encourage youngsters with college potential to consider working toward degrees in police administration.

8. Institute a kind of student government which has meaning.

    a. Involve students in an evaluation of the present student council.

    b. Develop ways to give students, through their own representative government, a real voice in helping to make decisions on things which really matter to them. Students can be given power without surrender of adult responsibility.

    c. Relative to the use of the student council, Joseph J. Roy, principal of Shikellamy High School at Sunbury, Pennsylvania, has made a significant statement: "Once a school is beset by waves of student protest, confidence in student government is already lost; it is too late to channel this dissent through the student council. The time to develop a visible student government is before the unrest mounts."[1]

    d. Give consideration to the development of a school council as opposed to a student council. Students, faculty, board of education members and parents are all part of the school community.

9. Develop a good activity program, one which does its part in helping the school to recognize achievement of various sorts. Recognition, which is varied in nature, is needed.

10. Institute a diversity of publications which might include the school paper, the yearbook, a literary magazine, special interest publications, among others. Competing publications could at least minimize the need for any underground publication.

11. Provide for seminars.

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[1] Joseph J. Roy, "Shikellamy Principal Offers Channel for Useful Activism." The Daily Item (Sunbury, Pennsylvania), February 27, 1969.

a. Conduct seminars on current, controversial issues with two social studies teachers to help support the pro and con arguments. Hold either during or after school hours. Make no attendance check and give no homework nor grades.

12. Arrange for exhibits of cultural realia of various minority groups.

13. Plan assembly programs around minority groups.

C. Control

1. Control influences.

a. Some forces, particularly outside forces, may seek to fan into flame a smoldering situation. Control is essential.

2. Control building visitors.

a. As needed, the district is justified in posting "No Loitering" signs at school entrances.

b. Individuals not enrolled in the school should not be permitted in the school unless the office has issued a visitor's pass.

c. If it appears necessary or even desirable, go so far as to secure legal injunctions against outsiders coming into the schools.

3. Work to nullify the influence of rumor.

a. Rumors can be treacherous, insidious, irresponsible. Ignorance and fear of the unknown or the uncertain provide a ready forum for rumor.

b. Issuance of a fact sheet can do much to dispel rumor. Such a sheet should be given wide distribution--both to potentially dissident groups and to those who might be considered otherwise.

c. Designate someone to act as a rumor control agent in each building in the district.

4. Use the peer group as a control.

a. The most effective control force among young people is the peer group.

b. One of the main problems in school disturbances is that only the most strident of student voices are heard while the great mass of young people, most of whom are moderate, remain silent. This creates an

exaggerated illusion of dissidence.

c. Part of the long-range answer may lie in devising ways to ensure that these voices of reason are heard above the din of extremism. This is not meant as a means to still the voice of dissent, only that it be viewed in perspective.

(1) It might be well to sound a note of caution. Be careful that, in the process of encouraging the expression of opposing views, polarization is not engendered.

(a) If student comments and responses are made on an intellectual basis, polarization is much less likely to occur.

5. Be familiar with the major student groups and cliques in the school.

6. Identify potential problem students early in their educational careers. Such identification can be a means for long-range control.

7. Delegate, but control.

a. "Both responsibility and authority can be delegated to an individual or group to the extent the individual or individuals can be held personally accountable for the way the responsibility is shouldered and the authority used. The principal must always retain the right to disapprove the action of any student group."[1]

D. Attitudes

1. Eliminate from your thinking a "how dare you" attitude.

a. If some militant students walk into a meeting demanding to be heard, the most dangerous thing to do would be to assume the attitude, "How dare you come into this room! This is a closed meeting and you are not a member, so leave."

b. One schoolman relates that a group of militants walked into one of his faculty meetings and wanted to pass out literature. He said, "I wish you had stopped by before the meeting and I would have included a place for you to speak, but my agenda is already made up and it is full. This is awkward for both of us. We

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[1] Student Unrest. California Association of Secondary School Administrators, 1967, page 36.

do not come into your meetings unless we are invited." They apologized and left.

(1) However, it is conceivable that the students might not have left. Plans must consider the possibility of such an eventuality.

2. Give deep consideration to the word "reasonable."

a. When demands or suggestions come to an administrator, how does he (or a group) acquire the wisdom to differentiate between the reasonable and the unreasonable?

b. Almost certainly the reasonable will have to be defined in terms of contemporary standards. Rules and regulations which are based on archaic standards will be unacceptable to many students.

c. This is not meant to advocate vacillation nor indecisiveness. It is meant to advocate a careful consideration of the question posed.

3. Develop an attitude of open-mindedness which recognizes that *a student has more to contribute than correct answers on an examination paper.*

4. Develop an attitude which recognizes a need to reach young people. They may continue to be restless, but they are less likely to break into open revolt if they are understood.

E. Involvement

1. Make use of the community.

a. Don't try to solve a problem of unrest by working just within the school. Go out into the community and tap resources to help with a solution. Recognize that many problems arise not because of the school per se; there is a social problem at work.

b. Utilizing information in the hands of law enforcement agencies can be of major assistance in the identification and resolution of problems.

2. Involve those who are deeply concerned.

a. One Negro educator tells of a three-county group of top educators--superintendents, principals, deans of students, deans of colleges, guidance counselors--brought together to consider the topic, "How to handle the minority problems in our districts." Of 45 participants, his was the only black face.

b. The day of a group sitting down and deciding what is

best for another group is over. When the problems of a minority group are being considered, that minority group must be adequately represented. As stated by the Negro referred to above, "Black people have been studied, researched, profiled, and had everything done that an outside group could have done to another group."

c. Relative to student unrest, if you really want to know what is going on, bring in students and they will tell you. Almost without exception, the young people will come up with the answers.

3. Consider the efficacy of student involvement.

a. What is wrong with giving students representation in the making of decisions that affect them, that control what they do? Such representation may not necessarily mean that the decisions made are going to be better. It is probable that at times they might not even be as good. But it is also probable that the decisions made will be more highly respected and more broadly supported by the students. Yet, at times, they will be better.

b. Growth necessitates experience in decision-making.

4. Determine the degree of student involvement.

a. *It is necessary to distinguish between consultation with students and giving the power of decision to students. At times they can be given the authority to make the necessary decision. At other times, to do more than consult with students would be to deny the knowledge, the experience, the maturity, the basic responsibility of the faculty.*

b. The degree of involvement, either in terms of consultation or actual decision-making will vary with the age of the students and with their ability to handle responsibility.

5. In plans for student involvement, consider the following:

a. One high school makes use of a principal's cabinet.

(1) Twenty-four students and ten teachers form a cabinet which meets with the principal as the need arises to discuss and try to solve problems.

(2) Half the group deals with personnel matters and the other half with curricula.

b. Other schools have involved students in

(1) Clothing regulation and hair style codes

(2) Disciplinary regulations

(3) Study of student unrest

(4) Evaluation of the school's program

(5) Evaluation of teachers

(6) Attendance at faculty departmental meetings

(7) Curriculum design

(8) Determination of budget reductions

(9) Selection of a principal

6. What appears to some as a regression from "good discipline" and "high standards" may be in reality a search for involvement in things that matter.

F. School Policy

1. Develop regulations for the school, regulations rooted in the goals of the school and based on the freedom of the individual as related to the rights of others.

   a. Be concerned but don't become involved with length of hair and shortness of skirt to the exclusion of matters of more vital concern.

   b. Eliminate from school policy any rule or regulation which cannot be enforced.

   c. Include in the written policy a procedure for dealing with student complaints.

2. Establish clear statements of policy for all student organizations. This would include both existing and new groups. Have the statements reviewed by the student council or by some other comparable or appropriate group.

3. Develop a personnel policy that assigns teachers on the basis of their abilities and the school's needs rather than one that assigns the most difficult classes to the beginning teachers.

4. Strive to merit respect.

   a. Those who are charged with the responsibility of enforcing policy must merit the respect of the student body, not merely because they represent authority but also because of the intelligent and equitable manner in which they exercise that authority.

5. Provide for freedom of expression in the school paper.

    a. Freedom of speech is a basic American belief. Can we teach such things as citizenship while denying youth this basic right?

    b. As long as such things as obscenity, vulgarity, criticism of faculty members by name, and attacks on individuals do not become a part of the paper, should censorship be practiced?

6. Organize a faculty study of report cards and student records.

    a. Such a study could include a careful analysis of school policy and of problems such as grade differentiation among various student groups.

G. Discipline

1. Take a firm position on student violation in such areas as vandalism, disrespect for teachers and disregard of school policy.

2. Consequences of the violation of school rules and regulations should be clearly understood by students.

3. Neither a repressive approach nor a permissive approach is the answer. *Reason is the key word.*

4. Build a spirit of voluntary compliance.

    a. Certain conditions and attitudes must prevail before a school can achieve a reasonable level of voluntary compliance.

        (1) Regulations must be reasonable and realistic by contemporary standards. Those which are based upon archaic concepts are unacceptable to many students.

        (2) Students must know not only the policies but the rationale behind them as well.

        (3) They must have a deep understanding and appreciation of the importance of the "Rule of Law" and the impact it has on <u>their</u> lives.

        (4) Students should be able to view school policy as serving and protecting them, rather than suppressing them.

5. Disciplinary procedures in a school might consider utilization of the following:

a. A committee which has the authority to examine and review the decision of a school official on any disciplinary matter.

b. Referral of problem students to a group composed of their peers, a group which contains at least one or two students who have in the past been problem students but have resolved their problems.

c. A committee composed of several board members, the chief administrator, a principal, several teachers and a counselor (or other special service personnel) to decide on expulsion cases.

H. Grievances

1. Establish a procedure for the consideration of student problems and grievances.

2. Make certain that students know that there <u>is</u> a procedure--and what it is--for resolving grievances.

a. The grievance procedure might well be published in the student handbook or might be a separate publication in itself.

3. School personnel at times are inclined to question the validity of a given grievance, may believe, in fact, that no grievance exists. This is not important. What is important is that a grievance does exist in the mind of a student. If it did not, there would be no problem. Fact or fiction, the "grievance" must be given due consideration.

I. Faculty

1. Evaluate the faculty.

a. Eliminate poor teachers and administrators.

b. Recruit effective teachers, teachers with empathy, teachers who can place themselves in the position of their students and can share their thinking and their aspirations.

c. Encourage teachers to be flexible, to adapt to the times.

2. Include more individuals with minority group backgrounds on the school staff.

a. More than a token representation of minority groups is needed in such areas as administration, classroom teaching, guidance, the secretarial staff and the cafeteria staff.

3. Sensitize the faculty.

a. Develop faculty summer workshops around such topics as curriculum, human relations and respect for the dignity of all individuals.

b. The extent of the need to sensitize faculty is pointed up by the fact that one large city system, in analyzing the causes of unrest in its schools, charged its faculty with a degree of responsibility second only to outside organizations.

c. Plan for and with the faculty an in-service day or days devoted to a serious consideration of adolescence and its impact on the individual experiencing it.

4. Make use of the librarian and library materials.

a. Encourage the librarian to develop in the library a shelf of various materials dealing with the adolescent, with problems of today's youth and with student unrest.

b. Have the librarian prepare and distribute to faculty members copies of particularly pertinent periodical articles.

c. A book of special value to an understanding of youth and youth problems might be purchased in quantity and distributed to all staff members.

d. Center one or more faculty meetings on a discussion of a book on youth and youth problems.

5. Encourage faculty members to analyze their own dress and conduct.

a. Faculty dress and conduct affect student attitudes.

b. Teachers who go to the extreme with fashions and conduct in school are promoting problems which may well add to their own downfall and that of the faculty in general through indirect encouragement of student unrest.

6. Augment service staff.

a. Adding staff members who provide supporting services to the staff as a whole can produce practical, direct, positive help for all groups both in the school and in the community. Supporting staff include psychiatrists, psychologists, home and school visitors, dentists, doctors and nurses. The work these people do in identifying and treating student problems is of inestimable value.

b. Add an ombudsman to the staff.

7. Make guidance counselors available.

a. Encourage--or direct--guidance counselors to establish and maintain an open door policy.

(1) Such a policy would almost mandate a substantial reduction in the counselor-student ratio as it exists in many schools today, a reduction that would result in a ratio of one counselor to 250 or 300 students.

b. Assignment of counselees to counselors should be carefully considered. The pattern of grade level or alphabetical assignment leaves much to be desired in today's age of specialization. It is expecting too much for one counselor to be all-knowledgeable in all areas for all types of students.

8. Develop faculty interest.

a. A faculty which is genuinely interested in the students and in their education provides a highly significant type of insurance against the likelihood of overt student unrest.

b. Have teachers encourage students to come directly to them with suggestions relating to, or grievances about, their classroom situation.

c. Encourage teachers to use out-of-class and between-class moments to exchange comments with students.

d. Suggest that each faculty member select two or three students who are trouble makers or potential trouble makers and get to know them over a period of several months.

9. Develop awareness of trigger words.

a. Certain words or phrases, many of which appear innocent enough on the surface, carry connotations of such a nature as to trigger violent reactions when used in teaching or in discussion or confrontation with specific groups.

10. Determine faculty support and position.

a. Faculty support is not automatic. It is the result of a team attitude built over a long period of time.

b. Hold meetings with the faculty to determine their beliefs, to ascertain the position they will take and what they will support in the event of trouble.

J. Miscellaneous

1. Avoid grouping which segregates students by social class.

a. It must be admitted that, although perhaps not intended to do so, ability grouping frequently results in grouping by social class and by race.

b. Herein lies a difficult situation. Some means must be found to enable every student to learn in a manner best suited to his needs and his abilities without promoting segregation in the process. All students can learn from one another. Students can learn to appreciate and understand others through working together, not through segregation.

2. Recognize the need of individuals for both acceptance and respect.

3. Meet student needs.

a. Young people have needs and we are not meeting them. We must try to identify the needs of students and make them relevant. We must develop strategies for meeting the needs of students.

4. Be sincere.

a. A student, militant or otherwise, can spot a phoney. He will say to you, "Don't bring me a lot of words which mean nothing. Speak to me in straight language and prove that you are sincere."

5. Don't become over-permissive.

a. Take a stand against coercion, force, intimidation. On the other hand, not only be open to dialogue and discussion but actively invite and foster such activity.

b. To accede where professional knowledge and experience dictate standing firm is to add to the problem rather than to contribute to the solution.

6. Learn to <u>feel</u> what is happening.

7. Discipline impartially.

a. Avoid the possibility of the accusation that a double standard exists in disciplinary actions, that members of a minority group get away with things for which others would be severely reprimanded, suspended or even expelled. Otherwise, backlash may become a serious problem.

b. Make certain that the discipline is appropriate to the action and the situation.

8. Identify leaders.

a. Identify leaders emerging in minority groups. Encourage those leaders to develop themselves and their programs through constructive channels.

b. A leadership conference can be held, one which takes the form of a retreat over a Friday night or even for a weekend.

9. Organize student files.

a. "Develop means by which information reaching various school offices can be retrieved and analyzed with a view to keeping the administration informed about the changing patterns of student behavior."[1]

b. "A cross-reference file should be developed to keep track of individuals participating in multiple problem situations. Dossiers should be developed on 'leaders' involved in student disturbances."

"Establishing procedures at the district level for an interchange of information regarding problems and changing patterns of student behavior is essential to the formation of policy on student behavior."[2]

10. Give students an opportunity to discuss matters relative to the law with articulate members of the police force.

11. Anticipate and avoid the management, the manipulation, of student politics as a strategem to secure elective offices through which to promote dissatisfaction and disruption. A group gains control of an important office and then promotes the kinds of action to which the principal can react only through the use of his veto power. The principal's actions then become the center or the object of student protests.

12. At P.T.A. meetings discuss the matter of student unrest and solicit the help of the parents. Produce figures to show the cost to taxpayers, cost resulting from damaged or ruined school property. Emphasize the significance of the disruption of the learning program along with the ever-present danger of injury to students. Stress the need for parents to be more aware of what their own children are doing.

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[1] Student Unrest. California Association of Secondary School Administrators, 1967, page 32.

[2] Ibid., page 32.

III.

Procedures to Resolve Overt Student Unrest

"These kids are aggressive, purposely irritating, rude and given to using four-letter words and issuing ultimatums. It goes down real lumpy. It gets a schoolman's back up--puts him on the defensive.

"This is calculated behavior--over-aggressive, over-vulgarized, part of a new culture. Schoolmen must anticipate this new approach and bite their tongues when they get hit with it. If you get hung up on the rudeness and bad manners, you'll never get to the bottom of the problem, to the real causes and the things that ought to be changed. So, keep cool."

-- Delmar T. Oviatt, Acting President
San Fernando Valley State College

Introductory Statement
Guidelines
Police Intervention

III. PROCEDURES TO RESOLVE OVERT STUDENT UNREST

Over one hundred years ago Thomas Macaulay, the English essayist and historian, prophesied: "Your Republic will be pillaged and ravaged in the twentieth century, just as the Roman Empire was by the barbarians of the fifth century--with this difference, that the devastators of the Roman Empire, the Huns and the Vandals, came from abroad, while your barbarians will be the people of your own country and the product of your own institutions."

Even a school system which has courageously and honestly recognized that it has a potential problem relative to student unrest and has had the foresight to do all within its power to eliminate the factors which might lead to severe problems, might suddenly find itself, as the result of an almost insignificant incident, being "pillaged and ravaged" by the young men and women who are the "product" of that very institution. It has already occurred a number of times.

> "Within a single week in February, battles between black and white students forced the closing of high schools in Panama City, Fla., and Lima, Ohio. Militant black students shut down schools in the District of Columbia, and Baltimore and Annapolis in Maryland. Outsiders contributed to the violence. In some big-city schools teaching 'has been reduced to a level of keeping discipline' reported a staff study of the Senate juvenile delinquency subcommittee last month.
>
> "'Never in the history of any nation has an education system been so on the point of disintegration and decay as the education system in this country,' Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff declared recently. '. . . we know that education in this country is as bad as it

can be. We know that it is old fashioned, irrelevant, and not meaningful.'"[1]

In such an eventuality as that described by Nathan Miller, what does a school do? IF IN SPITE OF THE BEST EFFORTS TO RESOLVE ISSUES, TENSIONS BEGIN TO MOUNT, WHAT CAN A SCHOOL DO? If a full-scale boycott, sit-in or riot suddenly erupts within the school, what action can or should be taken?

The best defense is a fast offense, an offense which takes the form of a carefully conceived and developed plan of action which can be implemented with no delay and executed with precision. Such a plan must of necessity be developed long before any real trouble occurs. When the boycott, or the sit-in or the riot is in process, it is too late to begin to plan.

The guidelines which follow may be helpful to the school system which recognizes the possibility of a disruption in the program of the school and which desires to plot a course of action to be followed when the disruption takes place. Almost certainly the procedures and activities listed will suggest others to the resourceful administrator.

---

[1] Nathan Miller, "School Turnoil Spreads." The Harrisburg Patriot, February 24, 1970, page 14.

OVERT PROBLEMS

A. Activities or procedures prior to overt problems

1. Be alert.

a. Be aware of what is happening within the school.

b. Sense the development of problems.

2. Develop guidelines.

a. Develop, in advance of actual problems, guidelines to be used in the event of such activities as disruption of classrooms or assemblies, chanting, distribution of leaflets or underground newspapers, marches, sit-ins and of a host of other similar or related activities.

(1) Give thought to how teachers and/or students can be aided--or even rescued--when under attack.

(2) Include provision for handling false fire alarms.

3. Second guess.

a. Try to discover, or to think through, the tactics most likely to be used by dissident groups determined to interrupt the school program.

b. Plan accordingly.

4. Organize a security system for the interior of the school.

a. This might include provision for such an extreme situation as how to get word outside when a building had been "seized."

b. Explore the possibility of installing sturdy metal folding barriers that can be closed to seal off various segments of the building in the event of disorder.

c. Lock school records.

5. Control inside situations.

a. Attention to what might be considered insignificant

details can pay dividends. Several examples are suggested.

(1) Close metal barriers referred to earlier.

(2) Disconnect automatic bell systems.

(3) Lock classroom doors.

(4) Lock all restrooms.

(5) Secure work areas.

6. Give consideration to securing help from parents.

   a. A concentration of parents at the site of an anticipated disruption can do much to convince the students that perhaps the confrontation should be scratched.

      (1) Such a procedure implies a relationship between the school and parents which will enable the school staff to mobilize parents, on short notice but in large numbers, on the school premises.

      (2) Such a procedure implies, too, that the anticipated disruption is not racial in nature. To assemble numbers of adults at the site of a potential disruption racial in nature might very likely significantly increase the scope and depth of the problem.

7. Inspect school property.

   a. Periodically inspect the building and grounds and eliminate potential weapons that might be lying around. For example, building materials such as bricks, lumber, pipes, etcetera, should be cleared away, or secured, insofar as possible.

8. Clarify legal aspects and possible courses of action.

   a. Make certain that students understand the legal implications of involvement in any type of disruption.

   b. Inform students of the ways through which violence will be handled.

   c. Where applicable, refer to school board policy and/or the school code.

9. Develop school board policy.

   a. No individual should be forced into making a decision

without having a base for that decision.

b. The school board, consequently, should adopt a policy statement under which decisions may be made.

c. This is treated more in detail elsewhere in this publication.

10. Develop a prepared statement.

a. Based on board policy and legal mandates, a prepared statement ready to be read to students when trouble breaks out could be of much help.

b. Appendix I contains a statement prepared by one school district.

11. Don't be obsessed with a compulsion to regain control of an area taken over by students.

a. Don't just throw students out, without doing anything else, when they have, for example, taken over the cafeteria. If forced out of a small area, they may expand their activities to include looting, destroying and terrorizing the innocent.

12. Maintain communications.

a. Maintain constant communication among all groups that would be concerned in the event of trouble.

b. Have key phone numbers ready at special phone stations for instant reference.

c. Have prepared in advance a set of envelopes for sending a mailing to the parents of students in the building.

d. Keep all parties informed about growing tensions.

(1) Understanding in depth will enable police, for example, to make an immediate decision to commit forces should it become necessary.

13. Alert community units that conceivably could become directly involved.

a. These would include, among others, fire departments and hospitals.

B. Activities or procedures during overt problems

1. Act without emotion.

a. Act with calmness.

b. Avoid reacting emotionally.

c. Student behavior is often a reflection of teacher behavior. Extreme reactions on the part of the staff, reactions which denote fear and apprehension, will do little to cause students to react rationally.

2. Act with firmness.

a. Follow through consistently with any warnings given.

b. Yet, make no threats or warnings which will not or cannot be enforced.

3. Act without hesitation.

a. While acting promptly, do not act hastily.

b. Some decisions will have to be made immediately.

c. Some decisions may be postponed until heads are reasonably clear and there is opportunity for adequate consideration.

d. Recognize that actions taken and decisions made too hastily may, while resolving a problem temporarily, lead to a situation of a more serious nature at a later time.

4. Control outside forces.

a. Some of the outside agitation can be eliminated by such tactics as controlling entrances to school parking lots.

b. As it seems necessary, request the police to cordon off the area to prevent unauthorized persons from getting within a city block of the school.

5. Make positions known.

a. Distribute among dissident elements a printed statement delineating the legal authority for administrative actions.

6. Take all possible safety precautions.

a. Any measure which might provide a degree of safety, no matter how minor the precaution might seem, should be noted and brought to the attention of the faculty.

(1) For example, drawn shades and closed venetian blinds can reduce the danger of flying glass.

7. Use available equipment.

a. As an example, walkie-talkies can perform a vital function in facilitating immediate and constant communication from one part of a building to another.

b. The deliberately-obvious taking of movies or still pictures by school authorities of an ongoing, unlawful disturbance will sometimes cause those involved to desist.

(1) The thought of such vivid evidence being recorded can dampen their enthusiasm for violence.

c. Have a bull horn available to use in speaking to outside crowds.

8. Take notes.

a. Record significant data: who is participating in the disruption, what is being done, time, place and other pertinent details.

b. Keep a chronological record of events.

9. Contact parents.

a. When it is necessary to close the school, notify all parents.

b. If the number does not make it impossible, call the parents of those actively involved in a disruption and request that they come to the school for their sons and daughters.

10. Give students proper direction when closing the school.

a. Prior to their being released from school because of an overt or impending disorder, non-involved students should be instructed to go directly home. Urge them not to confront the dissenters, particularly if there is polarization in the school.

(1) Loitering in the disorder area might result in their being injured or arrested.

(2) Their mere presence at or near the scene creates the illusion of support for the dissident group beyond that which actually exists.

11. Exercise caution relative to news releases.

a. Use extreme caution in formulating statements to be released to the news media. Be careful of impromptu statements made either via the telephone or in person

to the news media. There is potential danger in thoughts or statements taken out of context. But do not alienate the press.

b. Tape record all phone calls if it is possible to do so.

(1) At least monitor calls.

c. Cut all phone service available to students.

12. Maintain an open, flexible situation.

a. Much can be gained from keeping the situation fluid.

(1) Identify and analyze the issues.

(2) Attempt to prevent the early or immediate development of a hard and fast position on any issue by any individual or group.

(3) A firm position inhibits compromise or even discussion.

b. When an area of a school has been occupied, a sincere promise to investigate the complaints may be all that is necessary to clear the area and to turn a potentially serious situation into a passing incident.

13. Enforce school attendance.

a. At the beginning of any disruption, whether violent or not, instruct students to report to their homeroom or to the appropriate class for an attendance check. Announce that any student who is not in class, and is not absent for the day, will be presumed to be among the dissident group.

b. If boycotts, or disruptions of any sort, result in absence from class, make it clear that state mandates along with local board policies rule out the possibility of legal absences in such instances.

(1) Then enforce the mandates and the policies.

c. Announce to students and to parents that class work missed illegally cannot be made up.

d. Clarify mandated penalties for illegal absence.

14. Talk with student leaders.

a. Identify and then communicate with the student leaders of a disruptive activity.

b. Such communication should be clearly conditioned by

the willingness of the students to maintain order during discussions.

c. Adequate staff control of the situation is essential, but there must also be a climate conducive to real communication between staff and the dissenter's spokesman.

15. Identify student demands.

a. Little can be accomplished until demands are clarified.

b. Require student leaders to submit their demands in writing or at least verbalize them so that school officials can put them in writing.

16. Respond to student demands with care.

a. The response made by school officials to student demands should take into consideration a number of factors.

(1) What has the school already done and what is the school currently doing relative to demands made?

(2) What plans has the school for the future?

(3) What will be the effect, over a long period of time, of the implementation of the demands within the school?

(4) What will be the effect, over a long period of time, of the implementation of the demands within the community?

(a) This implies securing more than the student point of view; it implies involving the community to secure additional points of view.

b. Analyze requests or demands on the basis of merit. Concede where requests are reasonable and when there is no good reason not to make a concession.

c. Be cognizant of the fact that capitulation to demands can lead to a transfer of pressure from those demands to new demands. *Appeasement is no answer.*

17. Consider mediation.

a. To many students the board, the administration, the faculty represent the establishment and are therefore suspect.

(1) An indicated willingness to mediate may prove to be of help.

18. Prepare teachers.

a. Have teams of teachers prepared and ready to contain problems--to do whatever they can--until police arrive.

b. Containment can mean control of one's own area. Every teacher who controls the 25 or 30 students directly under his jurisdiction has reduced the problem to a significant degree.

c. The wisdom of having school people intervene when a situation is uncontrollable, when students are really intent on disruption and on destruction of property, is questionable.

(1) In such a situation, few students will be reasonable. Attempts to reason may intensify or at least prolong the situation.

(2) There are not many teachers popular enough to sway a student mob.

19. Call for assistance from municipal police.

a. On occasion, students attempt to get the school to agree never to call the police. Never grant such a request or demand. It will lead to further demands which will ultimately force the school to break its word.

b. If police are requested, request adequate numbers. The number is important.

c. Note the statement which follows.

20. Call for assistance from the state police.

a. Note the statement which follows.

21. Make provision for reports.

a. Require all staff members--or at least all those involved in any way--to submit written reports, immediately following the trouble, on student conduct and on all details.

22. Take action against ringleaders promptly.

a. Ringleaders of any disturbance should face the consequences of their actions promptly.

(1) This should apply whether that action be suspension, expulsion, prosecution--or amnesty.

(2) Uncertainty or vacillation on the part of school officials may lead to further trouble.

POLICE INTERVENTION

Below is a brief version of the Pennsylvania State Police position and policy in school disturbance situations. The statement came from the desk of Colonel Frank McKetta, commissioner of the Pennsylvania State Police.

Procedure for Acquiring State Police Assistance and Approximate Response to be Expected

The basic stand of the Pennsylvania State Police regarding rendering assistance in school disorders is that, to the greatest extent possible, school authorities should deal with such problems internally. However, when it becomes evident that the need for police assistance is imminent the following procedures are recommended.

A. When the school building is located within a political sub-division that has an organized Municipal Police Department

    1. The school administrator should request the assistance of the Municipal Police.

    2. If it becomes evident that the Municipal Police agency cannot bring the disturbance under control, the Chief of Police or the Mayor may request the services of the State Police.

B. When the school building is located within a political sub-division that does not have a Municipal Police Department, the following procedure will be pursued.

    1. The school administrator may contact the nearest State Police facility and request assistance in dealing with the disturbance.

Response:

In both Situation A and Situation B the State Police reserve the right to make the final judgment as to whether or not their personnel will be physically committed to the disturbance.

In Situation A, the State Police Commander must be convinced that loss of control by Municipal Police has occurred or is imminent and

that the need for State Police assistance is apparent.

Before committing his forces in Situation B, the State Police Commander must be convinced that there is a genuine need for State Police assistance and that the dissident group has committed--or soon will commit--an actual violation of the Pennsylvania Penal Code. Typically, such violations might include (1) malicious damage to property, (2) physical assaults upon school authorities, teachers, or students, (3) refusal to comply with a court order requiring that they vacate a building which they have seized. The State Police are not empowered to enforce institutional rules and regulations, nor to enforce Municipal ordinances.

Upon request for State Police assistance in Situation A and Situation B when actual disorder is in progress, the State Police Commander will immediately assemble his forces and be prepared to respond, pending the previously mentioned evaluation.

Liaison:

There should be constant liaison between school authorities, Municipal Police, and State Police. School authorities should keep Municipal and State Police apprised regarding possible growing tension within the school. In both Situation A and Situation B the State Police wish to have plain clothesmen observers at the scene long before the tension has reached the level of intensity necessitating the requesting of State Police involvement. These State Police observers would keep their Commanding Officer advised regarding the escalating tension or disturbance. Thus, if it became necessary to request State Police assistance, the Commanding Officer would have the necessary information upon which to make an immediate decision to commit his forces.

Use of Force:

The State Police policy regarding the use of physical force is, "Only that degree of force necessary to maintain law and order, and overcome resistance to lawful authority, shall be applied."

* * * * * * *

"It is clear that the motivating factor behind acceptable behavior is not understanding, but force. If so great and complex a structure is needed simply to insure physical attendance, we may legitimately be concerned about why we are unwilling to even place our bodies in school, let alone pay attention to what happens there."

-- Mark Kleinman

* * * * * * *

IV.

The Board of Education and Student Unrest

"We sense instinctively that the first thoroughly televised generation in the history of the world cannot simply be passed into and through the same rigid institutional structures that its parents and even grandparents traveled."

-- Robert H. Finch
Former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare

Two Dimensions
Suggestions

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION AND STUDENT UNREST

Realism tells us that the task before boards of education, administrators and faculties in molding all elements within a school into a unit through which the orderly process of education may continue is a formidable one even under the most favorable conditions. The task has not been made any easier by the recent waves of student unrest, student mobilization.

If boards of education are to continue to meet their obligations, they must face squarely the matter of student unrest. Facing that problem has at least two dimensions.

> One of these deals with the development of an awareness and of a recognition of the situation as it is. The other deals with a course of action.

The First Dimension

It should be obvious that little is done about a problem until those concerned are aware of the problem to the point that they feel a vital concern. In this connection then, relative to student unrest, boards of education need to begin to develop a sound awareness of the actualities surrounding student unrest, need to recognize some of the facts which have become clear.

The needed awareness can be developed, at least in great measure, through a careful study of other sections of this publication. Hence, no more will be said at this point about the first dimension.

The Second Dimension

An awareness of a given situation, a recognition of its seriousness, is important. But it is insufficient to be satisfied with awareness and recognition. Action must be a part of the picture.

Boards of education have a responsibility to move into the action phase as it concerns student unrest. There are some very definite things they can do.

1. Take the initiative, through the school administrators, to prepare for student unrest. When a boycott, or a sit-in, or a riot is in process, it is too late to begin to plan. This has already been emphasized elsewhere.

2. Planning pursued by boards of education could take many forms. However, in one way or another, the planning should provide for at least three things:

   a. The assessment of the local situation in an attempt to determine the extent to which student unrest is a potential problem in the school system.

   b. The charting of a course of action designed to alleviate situations and eliminate causes before serious situations and overt problems arise.

   c. The plotting of action that could be put in motion immediately should a serious situation arise suddenly in a school in spite of all possible efforts to avoid it.

3. After careful consideration, approve a plan of action, a policy. There must be a policy under which decisions can be made. No administrator should be forced into making a decision without having a base for that decision.

4. Provide sufficient funds to implement plans. Some plans will place additional financial burdens on the community. But, as stated earlier, so too does the repair of buildings wrecked by vandalism and rioting cost money.

   More professional staff to listen to students, more staff to provide professional services, more secretaries, programs for sensitizing the faculty, exhibits of cultural realia of various minority groups--all these and many other things will cost money.

5. Become familiar with recent court decisions which have had a profound effect in changing what boards of education and

administrators may or may not do relative to student unrest.

6. Exercise care in the suspension or expulsion of students. Have their rights been safeguarded? Interpret this in terms of recent court cases dealing with the rights of individuals.

7. Review all statements which represent current board policy. The review should provide for adding what is needed and for eliminating the out-dated and the unenforceable.

8. Develop regulations for the school which are rooted in the goals of the school and which are based on the freedom of the individual as related to the rights of others. Make certain that students not only know the policy or the regulation but the rationale behind it as well.

9. Exercise the utmost care in drafting regulations or statements of policy. Regulations or policy statements which are based on an effort to avoid acts which are disruptive or which interfere with the educational process are on much firmer ground than those which do not make such factors their raison d'etre.

10. Provide sufficient personnel to operate the school including sufficient personnel to listen to students. There must be sufficient, carefully chosen personnel who will be able to listen to students and then to communicate with top administrators. Failure to listen could bring a school system to a halt. Board members are referred to an earlier section of this publication which contains a quotation dealing with the problem in New York City relative to sufficient personnel.

11. Examine carefully the selection of principals and other persons placed in key positions.

12. Provide staff members, particularly administrators, with the opportunity to become knowledgeable and informed.

    "Most administrators have a monumental void of information on their authorities and responsibilities during periods of unrest. This is not criticism--they just haven't been trained to handle violence."[1]

13. Establish a student advisory committee. Such a committee could, for example, work with the board on the previously mentioned review of existing policy.

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[1] "California Educators to Get Briefed on Campus Militants' Fall Strategy." The Evening News (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania), August 26, 1969, page 2.

14. Provide time for listening and for consultation. Boards of education might be available for a period of even thirty minutes prior to the beginning of each regular meeting to talk informally with students, parents and community leaders.

15. Study school facilities. Over-crowding, unattractive buildings, out-moded facilities can do much to promote undesirable activities. On the other hand, ample room and attractive surroundings can help to decrease overt actions. Listen to student recommendations on facilities.

16. It is neither sufficient nor realistic to settle for an administrator-police liaison regarding unrest problems. School boards, too, should meet with municipal and state police officials to explore ways in which they might cooperate to prevent disorder and to deal with it if it should occur.

17. *Perhaps one of the greatest responsibilities of the board of education is to see that student unrest continues*--not the kind of unrest stressed to this point, unrest which threatens or disrupts the orderly process of education--but *the kind of unrest which promotes critical thinking by students and leads to needed changes in the schools.*

Conclusion

Boards of education and administrators, while working with students in terms of conferring and even negotiating, will, needless to say, bear in mind their responsibility for the operation of the schools. They *must be cognizant of the fact that they should not--cannot--agree to demands which run counter to regulations or which are illegal.* Control is essential. Authorization for adopting rules and regulations is provided in Section 510 of the School Laws of Pennsylvania. This section states, in part, as follows:

> "The board of school directors in any school district may adopt and enforce such reasonable rules and regulations as it may deem necessary and proper, regarding the management of its school affairs and the conduct and deportment of all superintendents, teachers, and other appointees or employes during the time they are engaged in their duties to the district, as well as regarding the conduct and deportment of all pupils attending the public schools

in the district, during such time as they are under the supervision of the board of school directors and teachers, including the time necessarily spent in coming to and returning from school."

In well-worded phrases, Thomas R. Leidy and Allan R. Starry have described the situation facing our young people today:

"American society today is characterized by internal discord and international tension, hot and cold wars, and dramatic social and technological change. Merely living in such an environment seems to require virtually all an individual's resources and skills; growing up in it is problematic indeed. It is not surprising that being an American adolescent is a difficult and demanding experience."

Little progress will be made by boards of education in providing leadership in the area of student unrest until they have developed an awareness of, and a concern for, this "difficult and demanding experience."

* * * * * *

"Youth, though it may lack knowledge, is certainly not devoid of intelligence; it sees through shams with sharp and terrible eyes."

-- H. L. Mencken

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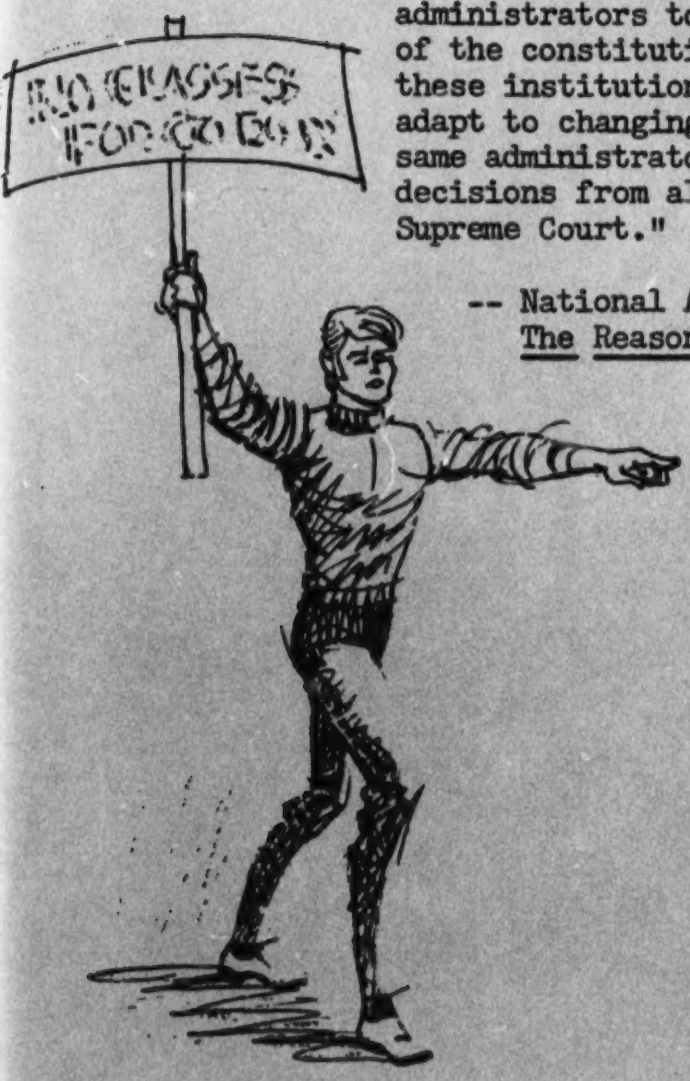
V.

The Law, The Courts and Student Unrest

"Even in the most civilized of organized societies, disputes are bound to arise. When they do, if that society is to remain orderly, some agent or agency must be responsible for a just settlement of the disagreement. Our courts have been assigned that role in America's governmental structure.

"It is incumbent on all school and collegiate administrators to have more than a passing knowledge of the constitutional and statutory framework in which these institutions operate. Recognizing that the courts adapt to changing conditions, it is imperative that these same administrators be kept up-to-date on pertinent decisions from all courts up to and including the U. S. Supreme Court."

-- National Association of Secondary School Principals
<u>The Reasonable Exercise of Authority</u>



Introductory Statement
The Tinker Case
Conclusion

V. THE LAW, THE COURTS, AND STUDENT UNREST

To a degree never seen before, the courts have been asked, during the past few years, to review legal disputes which have arisen between public school personnel and students. It is understandable that, since student unrest burst upon the scene at the college level prior to its advent in the public schools, the majority of the court cases dealing with this area are based on college conflicts. However, the public schools are providing their share of cases and might be expected to add to that share at an accelerating rate.

In recent years too, teacher militancy has eroded the authority of public school administrators and boards of education and has restricted their freedom to act. But another factor, student unrest with its appeals to the courts, has further gnawed away at not only administrative powers but also at many of the prerogatives formerly held by teachers. Court decisions, in a very broad manner, have influenced the day-to-day behavior of teachers and administrators alike but particularly so that of the principal.

The situation has become such that public school personnel must become knowledgeable to the point that they can not only recognize but also be prepared to respond to administrative problems which have overtones of legal implications and consequent complications.

In attempting to arrive at some reasonable statement or to draw acceptable conclusions from the morass of court decisions already pronounced by courts below the level of the United States Supreme Court would be almost futile. A lower court may be guided in making a decision

by a decision rendered earlier by another lower court, but it is not bound to do so. Consequently, rulings change. Moreover, the average teacher or administrator has neither the know-how nor the time to keep abreast of all the pertinent court cases being decided across the width and breadth of this nation of ours. So we face a problem.

But, fortunately, that problem can be mitigated somewhat by a study of one court case in particular, a case which provided the most significant recent pronouncement in the area of student rights, a case which resulted in a landmark decision which has tremendous implications for every school administrator and for every school board. The United States Supreme Court's decision in this case, Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District,[1] was handed down on February 24, 1969.

Much of the significance of this case, at least for present purposes, lies in the fact that other courts quickly applied the Tinker principles to many other cases. It has already provided, and will continue to provide, guidance for both federal and state courts in cases yet to be heard.

The Tinker (Black Armband) Case

The Tinker Case arose in December of 1965 when some pacifist-minded citizens decided to voice their objections to the Vietnam war by wearing black armbands during the Christmas season. John Tinker, age 15, and his sister Mary Beth, age 13, were a part of the group of adults and other students which met.

Hearing of the plans, school officials met in mid-December and barred the practice of wearing black armbands. The school officials ruled

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[1] Tinker vs. Des Moines School District, 393 U.S. 503, 1969.

that any student who refused to remove such an armband would be suspended from school. On December 16, as previously planned, John, Mary Beth and some others wore the black armbands. Five students were suspended when they refused to remove the armbands when requested to do so by their principal. They were sent home but were readmitted following the planned period of protest.

Those involved in the dispute sought an injunction in federal district court to restrain the school officials from disciplining them. In addition, they sought nominal damages. The court held that the action of the school was reasonable in order to prevent disturbance of school discipline. The United States Court of Appeals, Eighth Circuit, affirmed the decision without opinion.

The U. S. Supreme Court reversed the decision of the lower court. In doing so, the court said that the demonstration amounted to "symbolic speech" that was protected by the First Amendment so long as it did not intrude on others. The Supreme Court did not agree with the district court conclusion that the regulation was reasonable because it was based upon fear of a disturbance and said that "undifferentiated fear or apprehension is not enough to overcome the right to freedom of expression." The court ruled that the students had the right to express their opinion in the form they did since they neither disrupted school activities nor sought to intrude in the school affairs or in the lives of others. It should be pointed out that the court also said that ". . . conduct . . . which for any reason--whether it stems from time, place or type of behavior--materially disrupts classwork or involves substantial disorder or invasion of the rights of others is, of course, not immunized by the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech."

The Tinker case went beyond the protection of student rights. References to the word "teacher" should be noted in this excerpt from the decision: "It can hardly be argued that either students or teachers shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate."

The rights of students were discussed by the court in these words:

> "School officials do not possess absolute authority over their students. Students in school as well as out of school are 'persons' under our Constitution. They are possessed of fundamental rights which the State must respect, just as they themselves must respect their obligations to the State. In our system, students may not be regarded as closed-circuit recipients of only that which the State chooses to communicate. They may not be confined to the expression of those sentiments that are officially approved. In the absence of a specific showing of constitutionally valid reasons to regulate their speech, students are entitled to freedom of expression of their views."

From the Tinker case, from other court cases, and from general trends which have been observed, there are some conclusions that can be reached, some generalizations that can be made which may be used as guidelines by administrators as they deal with students, with student unrest and particularly with situations with legal implications. Some of these may be stated as follows:

1. Students are "persons" under the United States Constitution.

2. A student must be accorded his appropriate rights under due process. Due process preserves private rights. A school official must insure due process for students just as he expects to be protected.

3. Procedure involving any dissident is important. Fairness must be an underlying concept.

4. A student must be aware of the charges against him and must have an opportunity to be heard.

5. The concept of in loco parentis, while still applicable, is waning.

6. Recent court decisions have tended to restrain schools from imposing many of the controls over student conduct which were, not long ago, accepted as proper.

7. Students may express themselves as long as they do not materially or substantially interfere with the operation of the school or with the rights of others.

8. The fear that a student activity may create a disturbance is not sufficient justification for a regulation which interferes with the rights guaranteed a student under the First Amendment.

9. Historically, the courts have hesitated to place controls on the authority of the school to control student behavior. However, they have done so recently with sufficient frequency that school officials must be careful about making generalizations based on decisions already rendered. Moreover, there is no reason to believe the courts will not increasingly move in the direction of intercession.

10. The law has not changed; the rights of students have always been stated. But students are becoming more aware of their rights and are forcing the issue of those rights with increasing frequency. *The legal authority of school officials remains the same. The only rights of which they have been stripped are those which they never had but which they assumed.*

11. A school official, before making a final decision on a matter with legal implications, should seek the advice and counsel of the district's school solicitor.

It is interesting to note the attitude of the court in the case of Hammond v. South Carolina State College (decided in 1967) wherein the court stated, inter alia:

> "Unless the officials have authority to keep order, they have no power to guarantee education. If they cannot preserve order by rule and regulation, and insist on obedience to these rules, they will be helpless in the face of the mob, powerless to command or rebuke the fanatic, the irritant, the malingerer, the rabble rouser. To be sure, this is a tax supported institution, but this does not give license to chaos, or the hope to create chaos."

Since the question of long hair has been a source of contention in many schools, a recent statement made by Lee O. Garber may be of help. He has concluded that, after a study of a number of cases, certain legal generalizations can be made about school regulations curtailing the wearing of long hair by male students:

> "1. In the absence of any question of constitutionality, it appears that such a rule will be held to be reasonable.
>
> "2. Such a rule probably does not violate rights under the Fourth, Fifth, Eighth and Ninth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.
>
> "3. It is not clear whether such a rule is violative of First Amendment rights, but the weight of opinion seems to indicate that it is not.
>
> "4. The application of such a rule will be held to violate a pupil's Fourteenth Amendment rights if there is no evidence of the fact that the wearing of long hair is disruptive of the school and its activities.
>
> "5. Such a rule will not be held to violate a pupil's Fourteenth Amendment rights if it is applied to protect the health and welfare of pupils, or if it is necessary to quell disturbance--but, fear of disruption is not enough to warrant its application.
>
> "6. While courts appear to be in agreement that such a rule violates the Fourteenth Amendment unless properly applied, their reasons for so doing differ. Some hold it violates the equal protection clause, while others hold it violates the due process clause."[1]

Of even more help is the recent action of the United States Supreme Court. On June 1, 1970, the court refused to hear an appeal of a case involving the right of two Wisconsin school boys to wear their hair long. The court's refusal leaves in effect the 2-1 decision by the U. S. Circuit Court in Chicago last December which stated that "the right

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[1] Lee O. Garber, "Courts Cite Constitution to Uphold 'Long-hair' Rights." Nation's Schools, February 1970, page 86.

to wear one's hair at any length or in any desired manner is an ingredient of personal freedom protected by the United States Constitution."[1]

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[1] "High Court Sustains Long Hair in School." Harrisburg Patriot, June 2, 1970, page 2.

The Future

What does the future hold relative to student unrest in the public schools--increasing violence? a gradual diminishing and eventual disappearance of unrest? continued unrest expressed in a somewhat different manner?

No one really knows. But opinions have been expressed, and there do appear to be signs pointing to what we might expect.

Will the violence increase? The disruptions which continue to occur daily would lend considerable support to the belief that it <u>will</u> increase. This has been commented upon earlier in this publication; there is no need to reiterate what has been said.

Will the unrest gradually diminish and eventually disappear? What evidence could lead to this assumption? Do we want it to disappear?

Will the unrest continue but be expressed in a different fashion? There is evidence that could lead to an affirmative reply to this question. There is a phenomenon that points to the possibility of a decrease in the violence-oriented unrest we have been witnessing. This phenomenon is the one stressed in this section-- *the trend toward the use of the courts*. As stated, to an unprecedented degree the courts are being asked to step into legal disputes involving students and the educational hierarchy. *This could result in a major shift in tactics with a resulting decrease in revolutionary methods and a consequent acceleration in the use of a more peaceful procedure.*

Conclusion

"Piecemeal reform and concessions to student pressure, most educational experts agree, will not be sufficient. What is needed is a frontal assault on the existing school structure that will replace outmoded teaching methods, impersonal or authoritarian teacher-student relations and obsolete behavior codes with new forms and ideas more in tune with the times. And such fundamental changes, of course, will require years to effect."

-- Newsweek, February 16, 1970.

CONCLUSION

No one would deny that public school personnel have been challenged by student dissent. Neither would anyone minimize the severity of the problems that student unrest has created in a number of secondary schools in Pennsylvania nor the severity of problems yet to come.

However, in many ways we should feel grateful for these young people who are alive, vibrant, filled with convictions and courageous enough to give expression to their convictions. We may deplore sometimes what they do or how they do it, but at the same time we recognize that in numerous instances their activities are going to effect positive changes--perhaps even some which are quite revolutionary. They have made us feel uncomfortable and may well cause us to feel even much more uncomfortable in the months ahead.

Yet, how many of us would be willing to exchange these youth for another group that is perhaps even a much greater problem? Reference is made to the passivist, the student who gave up long ago, the student who dropped out of school several years ago but who continues to attend the school and to occupy a seat in the classrooms. Here is the person who, because of his complete lack of resistance, his aggravating silence, his quiet acquiescence to everything, his stubborn apathy, is now and will continue to be a problem to society. But because he makes no noise, creates no disturbance, makes no one uncomfortable, he receives no attention. Instead the school focuses on the element that makes itself heard. Perhaps this is natural in view of the fact that school authorities

must control student behavior if effective learning is to be achieved.

To these two groups--the very active who are involved in unrest and to the very inactive who conform while neither accepting nor rejecting--might be added a third group which comprises the great majority of the youth in today's schools. These are the young people who may conform, who object, when they do, in a somewhat quiet and controlled manner. These are the individuals who provide a degree of cohesiveness and stability during periods of "sturm und drang." These, too, merit recognition of high order.

As teachers and administrators work with all three of these groups, they face many problems, many questions. Among them is one which has been very clearly enunciated by an articulate high school student.

> "'At the heart of the issue,' says Jennie Colburn, a Los Angeles high school student, 'is the question: How much freedom can students have and how much authority should administrators have?' The only way to keep the high school from becoming the next battleground in a war of generations is to come to terms with that question. It isn't enough for high schools to lecture to kids about the values of a free society; their rules must be made to reflect and advance those values. And today's high school students belong to a generation whose members won't submit to any authority they can't respect. To win that respect, administrators are going to have to show that they take the views and complaints of their charges seriously, and to deal with them with candor and understanding."[1]

The task before boards of education, administrators and faculties in molding all elements within a school into a unit through which the orderly process of education may continue is a formidable one. In the process, public school administrators in particular, while working with students in terms of conferring and even negotiating, must bear in

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[1] Craig Karpel, "High School: The Next Battleground?" This Week Magazine, August 17, 1969, page 13.

mind their responsibility for the operation of the schools. They must also be cognizant of the fact that they should not--cannot--agree to demands which are against regulations or are illegal. Control is essential. This has been stated earlier, but its importance merits repetition.

It is obvious that the control must be exercised judiciously. In a nation with approximately 420,000 law enforcement officers of all types and two hundred million people, can those law enforcement officers actually enforce the law? Or in a school system with some 300 adult employes and 4,500 students, can the school enforce compliance? It becomes clear that compliance to law, rules and regulations must be a voluntary act to a large degree.

Someone has made the comment that every society gets the kind of youth it deserves. Adults, not youth, make the world in which young people grow up and develop into maturity. *The youth of the present society do not appear, in many instances, to know what they want. But it is clear to many that they do not want what they have. Sometimes they seem to feel that there is nothing quite worth wanting.*

No matter whether we agree or not with their attitudes and feelings, we have the youth with us. And we have them with us in great numbers. ". . . persons under age 24 are in an absolute numerical majority today (54 per cent of the world's population)."[1]

The implications inherent in student unrest are expressed well in a publication of the New York State Education Department:

> "Perhaps the major confrontation occurring today is the fact that our youth are seeking to involve us in evolution aimed at re-defining

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[1] "Goals of (and Obstacles to) First International Education Year - 1970." Phi Delta Kappan, January 1970, page 250.

> democracy in a way which is consonant with our future as well as our heritage. We can neither dictate answers to youth nor abdicate our responsibility to them if we are to be true to the canons of our profession. We have no choice save to teach."[1]

"We have no choice save to teach." This sentence is simple to the point of being misleading to the person who sees only the concept of teaching. Does it not imply not only learning for the student but also learning for the classroom teacher, learning for the administrator, learning for the board of education, learning for the parent and learning for the community as an entity?

Learning carries with it a broad implication of change--change of attitude, change in behavior, change in the way of doing things. Student unrest has created problems and will continue to create problems. Moreover, as Eric Hoffer has said, change necessitated by a resolution of the problems will result in additional problems.

> "It is my contention that the main challenge of our age is drastic change. . . .
>
> "Yet it is becoming evident that, no matter how desirable, drastic change is the most difficult and dangerous experience mankind has undergone.
>
> "We are discovering that broken habits can be more painful and crippling than broken bones. . . ."[2]

Progress will be made when administrators and teachers begin to understand that grievances, rather than protests, are the problem and then begin to use the juvenile simplicity, the unbounded energies and the deep idealism of youth to assist in the development of creative solutions.

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[1] "Student Activism in the High Schools of New York State." The University of the State of New York, The State Education Department, March 1969, page 21.

[2] Eric Hoffer, "Man's Long-Sought Changes Bring Agony of Adjustments." Philadelphia Inquirer, August 31, 1969, Section 4, page 5.

Progress will be made when we approach teaching with a renewed emphasis on the quality of the student's experience.

Student unrest--problems. Change--problems. Progress--problems. Perhaps because of the unsettling problems teachers and administrators are facing, many times there has been raised the question, relative to students: What do they want? Many answers have been given. One of the answers is expressed in these significant words:

> "They seem to be calling for an open, sensitive school environment to which they can contribute, by their enthusiastic participation, a kind of resilience and immediacy. They want the school to become important to them because they need the help it is capable of giving them. They want to participate in making the school an important source of learning, although they see it as but one of many such sources. They want to be a party to the restructuring of the school environment, not to the rearranging of it."[1]

This, then, is what they want. Are their aspirations unreasonable? Or, are their goals--their dreams--achievable?

* * * * * * *

> "The young of any generation have felt the same impulse to grow, to reach out, to touch stars, to live freely and to let the minds loose along unexplored corridors. Young men and young women have always stood on the same hill and felt the same vague sense of restraint that separated them from the ultimate experience--the sudden and complete expansion of the mind, the final fulfilment. It is one of the oldest, sweetest and bitterest experiences of mankind."
>
> -- K. Ross Toole

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[1] Neil P. Atkins, "What Do They Want?" Educational Leadership, February 1970, page 441.

Appendices

APPENDIX A

PENNSYLVANIA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Bureau of Administrative Leadership Services

COMMITTEE DEALING WITH PROBLEM OF STUDENT UNREST

Robert L. Adams	Bureau of Administrative Leadership Services, PDE
James A. Bolden	Office of Higher Education, PDE
John Bonfield	Coordinator of Pupil Services Lancaster City School District
Donald DeNardo	Acting Principal Academy Senior High School, Erie
Vernon H. W. Dessenberger	District Superintendent Oxford Area School District
Gaye Fackre	Student McCaskey Senior High School, Lancaster
Edward M. Grissinger	Formerly with Bureau of Administrative Leadership Services, PDE
R. Keith Hite	Formerly with Bureau of Information and Publications, PDE
Thomas N. Hondras	Teacher, Columbia Borough School District
Jerry Miller	Director of Special Education School District of Philadelphia
D. Jack Moses	Dean of Academic Affairs Cheyney State College
Julia Muldrow	Teacher and Guidance Counselor William Penn Senior High School, York
Forrest R. Schaeffer	District Superintendent Kennett Consolidated School District
J. Frederick Scherrer	Administrative Assistant to Superintendent for Secondary Schools, School District of Pittsburgh
Lucy A. Valero	Director of Student Associations Pennsylvania State Education Association
Captain Michael Donahoe	Director of Community Relations Division Pennsylvania State Police
Burt L. Dunmire	Director of Bureau of Administrative Leadership Services, PDE

APPENDIX B

"Student Activism in the High Schools of New York State"
The University of the State of New York
The State Education Department
March 1969

The New York State study of student activism at the high school level reported a number of conclusions but emphasized that conclusions "about changing expectations of students should be accepted as tentative generalizations leading to implementations which must be characterized by relevance, viability, flexibility and acceptability. They also have to work."

"Rising expectations on the part of students is a part of the tempo of the times."

"Changing expectations of students are not exclusively a matter of race."

"While student unrest is caused by conditions unique to each locality and situation, there is a pervasive thread of commonality."

"Outside organizations to a limited degree are encouraging student activism."

"Student unrest frequently is a by-product of rigidity of the educational establishment."

"Student expectations concerning their own governance basically are rooted in altruism and integrity."

"Rising expectations should be encouraged on the part of all students."

"Student activism is comprised of students of diverse motivation, thereby necessitating differentiated responses."

"Student activism will increase and assume a variety of forms."

"The perspective of history will cast student activism in a more significant light than it receives today."

APPENDIX C

"Student Activism in the High Schools of New York State"
The University of the State of New York
The State Education Department
March 1969

The New York State study of student activism at the high school level produced a number of recommendations for working with students during this period of changing and evolving relationships.

"1. The prescription of specific guidelines for statewide application is neither feasible nor recommended."

"2. Educational leaders must take the initiative in convincing their profession and their community that student activism is potentially a constructive force compatible with basic democratic principles."

"3. Superintendents of schools should carefully analyze or update their analysis of their community."

"4. In developing philosophy and procedures for greater constituent involvement, school officials should include representation of forces not recognized nor present in the community previously."

"5. The visibility of minority group participation should be observable to all."

"6. New communication channels must be created and existing channels must be made more effective operationally."

"7. Education's goals and purposes for all whom it serves must be cooperatively defined and achieved."

"8. Significance, relevance, and integrity must be brought to the curriculum in greater measure."

"9. Redeployment of personnel and restructuring of organization and procedures must recognize increased peer group influence."

"10. A deliberately planned program should be provided to sensitize all staff personnel to the perspective of others."

"11. Protest should be anticipated and tactics and strategy for dealing with it should be available."

"12. Professional organizations should join forces to promote constructive utilization of the increased student drive for greater participation."

"13. The Education Department offers to assist local school officials in planning changes in programs and procedures to meet growing student activism."

APPENDIX D

Suggestions Relative to Student Unrest
Gregory R. Anrig
Director of the Office of Education's
Division of Equal Educational Opportunities

1. "First, all schools should follow the lead being pioneered by some urban districts in increasing involvement and sharing real power with teachers, students and parents. We must be willing to share this opportunity and make our schools more public in the truest sense.

2. "Second, we must seek alternatives to what might be called the 'tight ship syndrome' which characterizes the regimented life a student faces, especially in our secondary schools, where even the need to go to the bathrooms requires a public declaration in class and a brightly colored plaque visible enroute.

3. "Third, we must open up new and broader communication with our patrons and clients--the students of our schools. Any other society at any other time would find these teenagers fully productive members of their community--earning a living and raising a family. In an age when students are brighter than ever before, better educated, and more concerned about a contributing role in society, we continue to treat them as young children rather than young adults. We need to listen to them in the fullest sense and judge their views on their merit rather than by the age and appearance of the speaker.

4. "Fourth, we need to seek greater relevancy in learning--relevancy to the world of work, and relevancy to the community with which the student identifies himself. We urge social conformity on young people but provide little opportunity for social participation. Why not have store front schools? Why not use high school students from the ghetto to work with elementary school children or with adult illiterates? Why not move the school experience out of the classroom and into the social service centers of the community?

5. "Fifth, we need to change the ways in which we select and train those who enter the critical role of secondary school principal. Should seniority, certification requirements, and examination scores prevail over sensitivity and imagination? I think not. We must also bring pressure to bear upon schools of education to recruit more effectively those who enter the education profession. The reservoir of talent available to school districts must be enlarged and enlivened.

6. "Finally, those of us who have some power in this business of education must be more willing to look at ourselves critically, to judge our own actions and reactions regarding those who confront and trouble us, and be willing to change our attitudes towards others claiming what they see--often quite accurately--as their rights."[1]

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[1] "Education Daily." June 24, 1969, page 2.

APPENDIX E

The following policy was adopted by the Montgomery County, Maryland, Board of Education on August 25, 1969.

A Policy Statement on STUDENT INVOLVEMENT IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

A primary task of the school is to create a stimulating learning climate for all students. Two essential factors in such a learning climate are the active involvement of students in their education, including the planning and evaluation thereof; and the fostering of a spirit of inquiry where students may freely express their own views and listen to and evaluate the opinions of others. The school staff, parents, and students have a responsibility to work together so that this learning climate will permeate the total school program.

One of the goals of school systems throughout America is the development in students of an appreciation of the democratic way of life. This is one of the twelve Goals of Education in the Montgomery County Public Schools. An appreciation of the democratic way of life must include the study of our national heritage and, to the fullest extent possible, opportunities for students to exercise their rights and assume their responsibilities of citizenship.

To achieve this goal, the staff, students, and parents must work cooperatively to avoid the extremes of regimentation and authoritarianism on the one hand and anarchy and irresponsibility on the other. This statement sets policy guidelines to help promote individual freedom, responsibility, and good citizenship and to maintain the orderly process of education.

This statement should not be interpreted as being all-inclusive, for the student has rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the law. One of the most important of these is his right to participate in a school activity, regardless of race, religion, nationality, or economic status. No student may be barred from any school activity for any reason other than those established by state and county eligibility requirements and those legitimately related to the purpose of the activity.

A student's exercise of rights and privileges in the school setting must depend on his age, maturity, and, to an extent, the standards of the community in which he lives. No right is absolute. Every right has its limitations. One basic limitation is that the exercise of rights of one individual or group ceases when it infringes on the rights of another individual or group. Other basic limitations that pertain to the public education process are found in state law, bylaws of the State Board of Education, and policies of the Montgomery County Board of Education.

The mature exercise of rights and privileges demands the exercise by adults and students alike of the concomitant responsibility to respect the rights of others and to respect legally constituted authority.

The effective implementation of these policy guidelines requires the exercise of good faith on the part of students, parents, and school personnel and a basic respect for the worth of each individual and his ability to contribute to society.

1. Students must be actively involved in the learning process. Therefore, in each course and at each grade level, students shall be encouraged to participate in establishing course goals, suggesting interest areas, planning classroom activities, and in appraising the course. Student suggestions and recommendations concerning curricular offerings and opportunities shall be permitted at any time and shall be solicited by the professional staff.

2. Freedom of speech is guaranteed to all citizens and must be guaranteed by the schools for all students. Students shall have the "opportunity to investigate all facets, sides, and/or opinions of and about any and all topics and materials introduced or presented and (teachers) shall have a special responsibility to provide such opportunity with regard to those which are or may be of a controversial nature. Such materials presented to students must be relevant to the course and appropriate to the maturity level and intellectual ability of the students. The teacher shall further be responsible to permit the expression of the views and opinions of others and to encourage students to examine, analyze, evaluate and synthesize all available information about such topics and materials and to encourage each to form his own views and opinions through such procedures. Teachers shall at all times strive to promote tolerance for the views and opinions of others and for the right of individuals to form and hold differing views and opinions." (Article 25, Section C.1., "Agreement between Montgomery County Education Association and Board of Education of Montgomery County for the School Year 1969-70.")

3. Students and staff should be involved in the planning and execution of assembly programs. On the basis of the nature and content of the assembly, the principal shall determine whether attendance is required or voluntary.

4. School sponsored, voluntary forums of interest to students, held outside of the regular class schedule, are to be encouraged. Students will have maximum freedom in planning and conducting such forums.

5. Students must be free to establish and are encouraged to participate in student government organizations that provide all students with a voice in school affairs. Open channels of communication should exist between the student, his student government, the faculty, and the administration. When recommendations are made by the student government, they should receive a prompt and substantive response.

Qualifications for holding office shall be determined by the student government, but must be in accord with county-wide eligibility requirements. In unusual cases, a principal may find it necessary to disqualify a student from running for office. In such cases, the principal shall explain the reasons for such action to the student prior to the disqualification.

6. Students shall be encouraged to form and participate in a variety of extra-class organizations as a means of broadening their educational experiences. Pupil organizations that conduct activities on school premises must be authorized to do so by the principal and must have faculty supervision.

The activities of students carried on entirely outside of normal school hours and off school grounds shall not be the responsibility of the school, and no student shall be penalized because of his activities in such outside organizations.

7. School newspapers, yearbooks, literary magazines, and similar publications are to be encouraged as learning experiences. As such, they shall have qualified faculty advisors and shall strive to meet high publications standards. It is essential that school newspapers provide an opportunity for members of the school community to express a variety of viewpoints.

Under the following procedures, student publications produced without school sponsorship may be distributed in schools:

1) They must bear the name of the sponsoring organization or individual;
2) They may not be sold on school grounds;
3) A time and place for distribution must be cooperatively established with the principal; and
4) A copy must be given to the principal for his review. (He may require that the copy be given him up to three school days prior to its general distribution.) If, in the opinion of the principal, the publication contains libelous or obscene language, advocates illegal actions, or is grossly insulting to any group or individual, the principal shall notify the sponsors of the publication that its distribution must stop forthwith or may not be initiated, and state his reasons therefor. The principal may wish to establish a publications board composed of staff, students, and parents to advise him in such matters.

Students may distribute or display on designated bulletin boards materials from sources outside the school subject to the same procedures that govern student publications. The distribution of such materials as commercial advertising, partisan political materials, and certain religious literature is restricted by MCPS Regulation 270-2.

8. Student dress and grooming is the responsibility of students and their parents, unless some standard of dress and grooming is a reasonable requirement of a course or activity or necessary for reasons of health and safety.

Schools may develop advisory guidelines for dress and grooming through the cooperation of students, parents and teachers. School personnel

may counsel with those who affect extreme styles of dress and grooming.

Unless a student's dress and grooming causes or is likely to cause a disruption of the educational process, he shall not be disciplined because of the way he dresses or grooms himself.

9. The student has a right to an education, and any disciplinary measure that deprives him of this right shall be used only in extreme cases. The disciplinary actions of administrators and teachers shall be fair and appropriate, and school disciplinary policies should be developed as called for in the 1969-70 Agreement between the MCEA and the Board of Education. Student conduct that for any reason materially disrupts classwork, or involves substantial disorder, or invades the rights of others, will not be tolerated, and may be cause for suspension. Parents must be notified as promptly as possible in all cases of suspension.

A student's conduct may necessitate his being temporarily removed from classes until a parent conference takes place. The parent conference should be scheduled as early as possible, and this temporary removal from classes is not to be considered a formal suspension unless specifically designated as such in writing.

10. Each school shall establish a procedure for the consideration of student problems and the processing of student complaints. This procedure should evolve from the cooperative efforts of students, faculty, and administration. All students should be guaranteed access to appropriate school personnel within a reasonable period of time, including the right of appeal.

The Board of Education has a strong interest in these policy guidelines and will review their implementation during the 1969-70 school year.

APPENDIX F

Communication Problems

On May 7 and 8, 1970, at the Pennsylvania State University there was held a Phi Delta Kappa Leadership Conference which had as its theme, "The Facilitation of Communication Between Students and Staff in Our Public Schools."

On the morning of the first day, conference participants were divided into small discussion groups with several of the groups composed entirely of students and several composed of teachers and administrators. The purpose of the small groups was to begin identification of communication problems. The problems, as listed below, appear as they were recorded by conference participants. Some may not appear to deal strictly with communication problems, but they have been included because they were felt important enough to be recorded by discussion groups.

Problems Identified by Students

1. Very little communication between academic and vocational branches.
2. Counselors often try to force college upon student.
3. Fear of saying what you really mean--have to keep your cool.
4. High school students are highly influenced or want to appear cool in front of friends and strangers as well.
5. Feeling is positive between students and faculty but administration creates its own problems.
6. Liberties which are not allowed at one school in a district are allowed at another.
7. One man administration exists--rulers are teachers--students are considered as lower.
8. Administrators tend to speak a monologue.
9. People want to ignore the problem because they don't want it to exist.

10. Today's teacher is not relevant.

11. Students feel they can't go to counselors with personal problems.

12. Students with personal problems don't feel close to counselors usually.

13. Decisions on student ideas don't get written down or communicated orally back to the students by the student council or administration.

14. Teacher are inconsistent in their methods or policies toward their students.

15. Teachers treat students as if they are not grown up or responsible.

16. Grown-ups judge young people on the way they look or clothes they wear and not on what they think.

17. Young people are afraid to speak up because of their fear of the power of the administrators and teachers.

18. Kids can't say things so others can understand what they mean.

19. Kids just don't want to get involved with school related activities.

20. Students don't try to understand what the administrators are saying to them.

21. Teachers shouldn't talk down to us.

22. Teachers should become better at fostering interpersonal relations.

23. Teachers should be more predictable.

24. Teachers need to relate their subject to real life--not just college.

25. School needs to be able to give just enough guidance to keep things under control.

26. Students need to become more involved and accept responsibility.

27. Students should be given choice within limits.

28. Limits should be jointly established by students and teachers, then followed by everyone.

29. Students should present ideas in an organized and well thought out form.

30. Student council represents administrators, not students.

31. Guidance counselors more vocational experts than guidance for problems.

32. Students apathetic--administration more willing to listen than students.

33. School too impersonal; students there to make grade; student merely receiver of information.

34. Adults not willing to make concessions; not willing to listen to students' problems; dislike any change; good leaders aren't paid enough.

35. Students and faculty have fear of change; afraid of any trouble; fear of failure of change.

36. Administrative fear of strike only way change by students was accomplished.

37. Students divided and not in agreement.

38. Alienating radical group; fear of expressing opposing view.

39. Student opinion not valued or even accepted.

40. Faculty and administration are afraid to get students involved, to discuss controversial issues. Refuse to allow thinking by students.

41. Students want to be aware, included, participate on crucial issues, world affairs.

42. Students need trust of administration.

43. Some aren't ready for responsibility.

44. Good teachers don't stay--pressured to leave.

45. Atmosphere of school not conducive to communications.

46. Faculty divided.

47. Group labels inhibit communication.

48. Stereotypes prevent listening.

49. Appearance reflects a communication in itself; it colors what person really says.

Problems Identified by Teachers and Administrators

1. Requests of students are granted; however, there is no follow through by students.

2. Lack of sincerity of students on here and now issues.

3. Provincialism in area--teachers are traditional in thinking, not tuned in to students' concerns.

4. Concern of student lies in a liberal faction who feel that their concerns are not expressed in student government.

5. Conflict of interest between conservatives and liberals. Students don't accept philosophical basis of any faction.

6. Sincerity of purpose of those students that are dissatisfied. Students talk about it but don't do anything about it.

7. How far can you justify dissent? To what extent are there limits on dissent?

8. Level of commitment--students thinking about themselves or are they really concerned?

9. How to get the community's views and the students' views together on an idea?

10. Conflict over what curriculum to pursue.

11. How much communication gap is there? Is it a concern of mankind in general?

12. Changes made are rapid--people can't seem to cope with them.

13. Administration does recognize need of better communication.

APPENDIX G

A Course on Law

In one high school in Harrisburg there has been instituted a legal education program designed to provide young people with a working knowledge of law relevant to their lives. One of the objectives is to demonstrate that law is not static, and that it is healthy for young people to think, challenge and seek ways in which to effect change lawfully. The course is administered by the Dauphin County Legal Service Association and the Dauphin County Bar Association. The course is designed to be taught once a week for twelve weeks. Teachers are attorneys who volunteer their services, and the course is open to students who wish to take it. Course material consists of the following:

1. An Introduction to Law
2. The Legal System in the United States
3. You and the Law of Evidence
4. You and Jury Service
5. You, the Law and Juvenile Court; Juvenile Rights
6. You, the Law and School
7. You, the Law and Merchants
8. You, the Law and the Automobile
9. You, the Law and Crime
10. You, the Law and Drugs
11. You, the Law and Welfare

The main objectives of the course are as follows:

1. To demonstrate the necessity for law and a government of laws.
2. To provide youth, especially the disadvantaged, with a working knowledge of law relevant to their lives as adolescents.
3. To develop in youth positive attitudes toward law, the legal system and its participants.
4. To demonstrate that the law is not static and youth to think, challenge and seek ways in which to effect change lawfully.
5. To foster acceptance of conflict as characteristic of growth and development of individuals and of society; moreover, that compromise, adjustment, and resolution through lawful processes and institutions are the best manner in which to resolve conflicts.
6. To foster respect for real and personal property, as well as for life.
7. To teach youth how to make reasoned judgments.
8. To teach the inherent worth of every individual and the recognition of this worth in the language of the Bill of Rights and other legislation.
9. To make youth aware of the availability locally of legal services programs for persons unable to afford a lawyer.
10. To encourage teachers to teach law in secondary schools.
11. To gain acceptance for legal education in the public school systems of the Commonwealth.
12. To educate parents in law through their children.

Particulars about the course may be secured by sending $5.00 (to meet expenses) to:

Herbert C. Goldstein, Esquire
118 Market Street
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Checks should be made payable to the Dauphin County Legal Service Association.

APPENDIX H

Common Sense Talk on Protests

Civil rights leader Bayard Rustin had some profound comments both for black students and university administrators at a talk in New York City.

He criticized Negro students for demanding courses in "soul music and poetry." Instead, he said, they should be concentrating on mathematics and English. He asserted: "What in hell are soul courses worth in the real world? In the real world, no one gives a damn if you've taken the courses. They want to know if you can do mathematics and write a correct sentence."

"University administrators," he said, should "stop capitulating to the stupid demands of Negro students . . . and see that they get the remedial training they need." He also said, "The easy way out is to let them (the students) have black courses and their own dormitories and give them degrees."

If the students can't see the wisdom in these remarks, certainly the university officials should. Negro students will benefit themselves, their families, and their race best by getting adequate training in subjects that will best prepare them for leadership roles in the various professions. Administrators should realize that they are not doing the students any favors by permitting them to be diverted from the courses that, in the long run, will do them the most good.

Philadelphia Inquirer, April 19, 1969, page 20.

APPENDIX I

Administrative Procedure for Dealing with Student Demonstrators

Phase I

I am _____ (Name), _____ (Title) of _____ (School or Office) and am asking you to return to your classes (or, if there are any non-students in the group, to leave the premises). If you remain here you are violating the rules and regulations of the Board of Education. Therefore, once again, I must ask you to return to your classes (or, for non-students, to leave the premises). Those who fail to respond to this request within the next five minutes will be subject to suspension from school and/or prosecution for violating the Penal Law of the State of _____. Please avoid additional trouble by leaving at this time.

(Pause - 5 minutes)

Phase II

I am _____ (Name), _____ (Title) of _____ (School or Office). Five minutes ago I asked each of you who are students in our school to return to your classes (and those who are not students to leave the premises). I indicated to you at that time that if you had not returned to your classes or vacated the premises by this time you would be subject to suspension and/or arrest. Therefore, I am now indicating that each of you who are enrolled in our school are suspended from school; and you may not return to school until an individual appointment has been made and kept by you and your parent(s). Your parent(s) will be contacted in the near future regarding the appointment date.

To avoid further difficulty and possible arrest, I am now asking each of you to leave the school property immediately. You will

have five minutes to comply with this request. If you have not vacated the school property in five minutes, the police will be called and you will be forced to leave and you may be arrested. I must remind you that such an action will be recorded on your school record and will become a part of the police record as well. Neither of these will help you or your cause and will undoubtedly bring embarrassment to your family. Therefore, for the last time, I am reminding you that you have five minutes to leave the school property. Those failing to comply are in violation of the Penal Law of the State of _____ since you are remaining unlawfully upon this property. In addition, since I am asking you directly to leave, failure to comply is an insubordinate act. You have five minutes to leave the school property.

(Pause - 5 minutes)

Phase III

I am _____ (Name), _____ (Title) of _____ (School or Office). As a person delegated by the Board of Education to be in charge of this property, I have indicated to you on two occasions that you are remaining on this property unlawfully, and I ordered you to leave. Since you have not done so, I have called for police assistance and I am prepared to file charges against you for prosecution as a violator of the Penal Law of the State of _____. This is _____ (Name of Police Officer) of the _____ Police Department.

APPENDIX J

Students for a Democratic Society

Almost at the precise moment that the first edition of this publication was completed, the Bureau of Administrative Leadership Services received a copy of an interview involving a reporter of /I/D/E/A/ and Michael Klonsky, national secretary of Students for a Democratic Society. Since it was too late to incorporate any of the material within the body of the publication, it was decided to include it as an item in the appendix. It was decided to retain the material as an appendix in this revised edition.

The interview is included because it is pertinent and timely, not necessarily to give SDS any undue emphasis. To provide some balance, note the following question asked of Harold Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence College, in a recent interview and his answer:

> "You feel then, that SDS has become too ideological for its own survival?"
>
> "Yes. . . . I think the main thrust of future action will come from the black students with the support of the white moderates and white radicals who have begun to work in the schools and elsewhere on the problems of changing the society and re-distributing the country's wealth."[1]

The interview is reprinted with permission from the Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc., /I/D/E/A/, an affiliate of the Charles F. Kettering Foundation. Sincere appreciation is expressed to /I/D/E/A/ not only for granting permission to include the interview in this publication but also for granting the permission within a matter of a few days of the request.

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[1] "Student Activism Steers Away from SDS and Toward Educational Reforms." Nation's Schools, July 1969, page 41.

"NOTHING ADMINISTRATORS CAN DO IS RIGHT"
An Interview with Michael Klonsky
National Secretary
Students for a Democratic Society

Editor's Note: Michael Klonsky was interviewed by the /I/D/E/A/ REPORTER at the national offices of the organization in Chicago. Mr. Klonsky demanded the Institute pay a fee for a taped, two-hour interview which will be dealt with more completely in a special report by /I/D/E/A/ on SDS and student activism (available after April 15). The following is an abbreviated version of the interview.

REPORTER: How is SDS structured?

KLONSKY: We have organizations on the various campuses and in communities called chapters. In some places they are called "affinity groups" or "collectives." These groups meet a few times a week to educate themselves, to try and get a better understanding of the problems that confront them, to determine what kind of collective actions they are going to take, and to make decisions about how they are going to move. From the local chapter, you move up to the regional structure. There are about seven or eight regional structures around the country. The chapters come together and make decisions about regional actions or regional programs. Nationally, SDS meets four times a year in what is called National Council Meetings or conventions. At these meetings the national strategies are discussed, a national program comes out, debates within the organization are resolved, and direction for the organization is determined. We try to involve the most number of people in decisions so that the masses of people in the organization can better understand whatever actions we do decide to take.

REPORTER: Where do you get funds to support your activities?

KLONSKY: Our money comes from the people that support our organization, the people that our program is relevant to. We are in very bad financial straits.

We actually lose money on memberships. It costs more to put out New Left Notes, our internal organ, than the $5 a year subscription covers. Generally, we are supported by the young people of the country. We sell literature, which raises a little. A lot of us, like for example, myself, work full time for the organization. I am National Secretary. I work seven days a week. I have a wife and kid, and we can only afford to pay me $15 a week. (Klonsky mentioned also that he would not have agreed to the interview if the organization had not been so low on funds.)

REPORTER: What is the major area of concern--colleges, high schools, or social reform?

KLONSKY: Our major area of concern is capitalism. It is the system we live under. We are concerned with it, and its every aspect and how it affects peoples' lives. Our general area of concern is doing away with the system that is based on the exploitation of human beings, that is

based on buying peoples' lives away bit by bit for a few bucks an hour and some breadcrumbs, that is based on racism, war and imperialism, and that, by its very nature, cannot allow people to be liberated, cannot allow for racial equality, cannot allow women to exist as functional human beings, cannot allow universities to function in a humanitarian manner, cannot allow people to live free lives.

REPORTER: Is there any difference in the amount of activity or in the type of activity among the regions?

KLONSKY: Most of the activity in the last few years has been heavily concentrated on the coasts and especially in the large industrial centers and urban centers. This is changing now. There is a lot of motion developing in the south, in the rural areas, in the midwest. In probably a short time, whatever regional differences there are . . . will disappear. . . . There is some difference in the kind of programs that come out of, say a small state college in the midwest, than there would be from Columbia.

REPORTER: Is that because the issues bothering the students in the midwest have already been settled other places?

KLONSKY: No, it's just that the immediate struggles take on different characteristics. For example, in some places in the South, a lot of the racial hangups will have to be fought first. . . . Although, even in the North racism has to be a main focus of our programs. At Columbia it was, and at San Francisco State . . . it just takes on different characteristics. Some places we might be demanding more black admissions on the campus . . . some places, like at Columbia, it might mean fighting the ghetto expansion by the university. In New York, the largest slum landlord in Harlem is Columbia University.

REPORTER: What is the average age of an SDS member?

KLONSKY: It's getting lower, and our biggest growth has been among high school and junior high school students. It's hard to give a specific age--an average age--but we are basically a youth movement. We see our main focus as reaching young people on campuses, in factories, in the Army, on the streets, wherever young people are, that's where SDS should be. So our age, the age of SDS, is young.

REPORTER: Would you describe the SDS view of the perfect school?

KLONSKY: Under capitalism the perfect school would be one that doesn't function. The university and the public school system serve the interests of the rich in America, of the ruling class, and they become an agency for producing the right kind of people. Everything from the overt kind of racism in the universities to the more subtle kinds of mis-education that go on in the classroom, is symptomatic of the anti-human system we live under.

The high school population of San Francisco is 70 per cent black and only four per cent of the students at San Francisco State are black . . . that's the most overt kind of racism. Ghetto expansion is more subtle as I mentioned before, where the university is the slum landlord. The less obvious things are, for example, training social workers to learn how to manipulate the poor--to go in and buy off poor people's struggles with

welfare checks, or training racist teachers to go into the ghetto schools and act as cops in the classroom, or the kind of war and militancy research that goes on--germ and chemical warfare research, counter insurgency research. We say that as long as the United States Government serves the oppressors of the people of the world and the university is the "brain center" of that oppression, then the people have to shut it down, and stop it from functioning.

REPORTER: Are the confrontations becoming more violent?

KLONSKY: Our movement started out as a non-violent movement. Many of our people went down South and fought in the civil rights struggle. You had people fighting in a pacifist kind of way . . . hoping the civil rights movement would appeal to the conscience of America. What happened instead was that the non-violent movement was met with guns and tear gas, people were killed, gassed, beaten, and jailed by the thousands.

We learned that every time we challenge the basic tenets of society--challenge racism or imperialism--we've got to expect that the people that run this country are going to use the troops, the police, etc. to knock us down. So what we have decided is that if we are really going to struggle for liberation, then we are going to have to learn, number one, how to defend ourselves, be willing to do so, and see that as our responsibility. I think you will see more violence because as American capitalism begins to crumble, begins to fall apart, the rulers of the country are going to depend more and more on the military to insure their power. You see this at San Francisco State now where thousands and thousands of police are being used to do the job, because capitalism cannot meet the needs of its people.

REPORTER: Do you look on this increased violence as defense then, rather than as attack?

KLONSKY: Yes . . . because, like I said, the movement started out non-violent. Nobody likes violence, but people have to have a willingness to fight for what they believe. If you are not willing to fight . . . then you're just jiving, you're not really serious about what you say. The people who rule the country . . . are willing to fight for what they believe. They believe in the domination of people--the control of people--and they are willing to back that up with violence. They are willing to bring on the police.

REPORTER: Is the "establishment" incapable of the type of change you desire?

KLONSKY: Well, they are incapable of it because they are committed to a system . . . based on the profit motive. As long as they are committed to that kind of oppressive system, then they are incapable of meeting the needs of the people in America. The rulers of this country are not only incapable but are unwilling, don't have any intention of meeting the needs of the people.

REPORTER: Is the curriculum in high schools today relevant to the problems we are currently facing?

KLONSKY: It's relevant to controlling young people, to keeping them like prisoners in the schools. . . . High schools are relevant to the needs of the people who run the country. They are not relevant to ending racism. They are not relevant to dealing with any of the problems in America. They are relevant to keeping young people down, to brainwashing young people, to teaching them racist lies like Columbus discovered America. Schools serve to cover up problems rather than solve them. Fortunately, though, the will to fight, the will to struggle, among young people is stronger than the socialization process.

REPORTER: Could you give me an idea of what, in your opinion, administrators of high schools and the public schools are doing wrong?

KLONSKY: It's not a question of what they are doing wrong, it's a question of the role that high schools serve. It doesn't matter whether administrators serve that function nicely, patting the kids on the head as they teach them racist lies and teach them how to dress, how to talk and how to act and what to wear and as they channel them into different kinds of jobs--for example, channel working-class kids into the trade schools and the middle-class kids to the big universities. High school activism could take many forms . . . the fight against racism . . . the fight against imperialism, the war in Vietnam . . . as well as the fight against the socialization processes that try to brainwash kids.

REPORTER: Is there any type of program or any activities that the administrators of a high school can do to keep trouble from developing on campus?

KLONSKY: Sure, he can quit his job and join SDS.

REPORTER: I mean seriously, what kind of programs can he institute that would get students involved, or is that what you want?

KLONSKY: You see, I'm not interested in that. Administrators will try all kinds of things to buy off the struggle of young people . . . they will try to tell young people that we are all after the same things . . . they will try to peddle all kinds of lies.

REPORTER: Then student involvement in the decision-making processes would not be one of the things SDS is fighting for?

KLONSKY: That can't exist because decisions are made about how schools are run, not by the students, but by the people that control the educational institutions in America. The same people that are on the boards of trustees of universities, the same people that run the schools, are the same people that run the big corporations. So all administrators can do is pretend students have control of decisions. Students cannot make decisions in America, the way it is, about the main function of schools, which is to turn out pegs to fit in holes. I think administrators should stop jiving young people and start telling them what their real role is--telling them that they are flunkies of the big corporations, that they're flunkies of the business interests in America and stop trying to tell them "We're all after the same thing," becuase we're not all after the same thing.

They're trying to perpetuate that oppressive system, and we're trying to end it.

REPORTER: Is there nothing then that administrators can do that SDS would agree with?

KLONSKY: When there is a struggle on between the oppressed and the oppressor, you have to be on one side or the other. Administrators have chosen to be on the side of the oppressors. Therefore, they are the enemy of young people, and young people have to fight against them as much as they do the real enemy which is the ruling class.

REPORTER: So there is nothing you can say to a school administrator?

KLONSKY: Quit your job, I would tell administrators to drop out. To do something humanitarian instead of just being interested in making a buck.

REPORTER: Is there nothing, in your opinion, that can be done with the schools the way they are now without completely dissolving them and starting over again? Is there nothing a principal can do?

KLONSKY: He can't do anything as a principal . . . as a human being he can fight against racism in all of its forms, which would mean that he would have to stop serving as a racist administrator.

REPORTER: Well, then he probably wouldn't hold his job very long, would he?

KLONSKY: Right, if he would fight against racism in the schools he would get fired, because he would be organizing demonstrations of young people, and that would be bad, too, because young people have to organize them themselves. He could join the demonstrations of students . . . he could give money to the Black Panther Party. He could tell his children not to fight in Vietnam, to resist the draft, or to go in the army and organize. He could stop oppressing his wife at home making her play all kinds of subservient roles . . . while he's off being a racist administrator. He could do things that any other human being does in a struggle, take the side, the right side. And whether that would mean giving up his job or not, I don't know, but I find it silly talking about what administrators can do because, generally, they are very consciously against the struggle.

REPORTER: I was thinking that a principal would not be taking the SDS position necessarily, but would take a stance halfway between SDS and the normal position of an administrator.

KLONSKY: You can't be half a racist and half a warmonger or halfway for liberation. You are either in the struggle or you are fighting against it. Some administrators don't fight against it as hard as others, but I'm not going to be thankful to them for not fighting against it as hard as others.

REPORTER: What about teachers, do you view them in the same way as you do administrators?

KLONSKY: Because they are oppressed, teachers have the potential to be on the right side. They can go either way. They can either serve as the middlemen of the oppressors or they can be on the side of the liberation struggle.

REPORTER: Do you actively solicit teacher support?

KLONSKY: Yes, we have a group called Teachers for a Democratic Society. It's mostly in New York City right now.

REPORTER: Is that something new?

KLONSKY: Yes, within the last year. We're organizing radical caucuses within teacher unions . . . it is affiliated with SDS.

REPORTER: Do members of Teachers for a Democratic Society have much trouble identifying with your organization and keeping their job at the same time?

KLONSKY: Yes, they do. That's one of the things people must be willing to risk--that they get fired. Because there is such a need for teachers, many of them can keep their jobs and function as radicals inside their profession. But, they do face a risk of getting fired and that is one of the sacrifices they have to make. Either that, or just become a tool of the system for the rest of their lives for the lousy pay which they get and act like policemen in the classrooms. They have their choice. It's a lousy choice, but that is the choice America offers people--a lousy choice.

REPORTER: Does it create more support for SDS when an administrator takes a hard line stance--banning speakers or chapters?

KLONSKY: Nothing administrators can do is right. If they let us speak we will organize SDS chapters. If they don't let us speak, SDS chapters will organize by themselves.

REPORTER: But would such a hard stance make more people sympathize with you?

KLONSKY: That's why I say nothing that administrators can do is right . . . it's like GI's in Vietnam. While they are there killing Vietnamese, they are the enemy of the Vietnamese. Whether they fire bullets slowly or fire bullets quickly, they are still killing Vietnamese and the Vietnamese have to see them as the enemy.

Administrators oppress young people. Whether they do that liberally or conservatively, they are still doing it. John F. Kennedy and Senator Eugene McCarthy are just as much an oppressor of the people in this country as Barry Goldwater or George Wallace. They just have different styles.

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